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CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR

BOOKS IV (20–38) and V

Partly in the Original and partly in Translation

R. W. LIVINGSTONE

C. E. FREEMAN

OXFORD

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THE CLARENDON SERIES OF LATIN AND GREEK AUTHORS

¶ *Extract from the Preface to Caesar, Books IV & V, by Mr. R. W. Livingstone*

"ONE great difficulty besets all schoolmasters in teaching the early stages of Greek and Latin. The pupil knows so little of the language that he can only prepare short passages for a lesson, and in a Term's work he "does not get far. Further, in his struggle with the language, he misses the "general sense of what he is reading; in the effort to make out each individual "sentence of Caesar, he becomes blind to Caesar's meaning. Fighting his way "through the thick jungle of a foreign tongue, he makes small progress, and "(what is worse) soon losing all sense of direction, sees no further than the "entangling words immediately under his eyes. It is difficult for a boy in such "conditions to realize that the book is by a human being and on matters of "real interest. The result is often boredom and sometimes a lasting distaste for "the subject; and both education and the classics suffer. Nor is there any "obvious remedy. If you try to read fast, you lose the accuracy and attention "to detail which are absolutely essential in groundwork.

"THE PRESENT EDITION springs from two years' public-school "experience during the War, and attempts to meet the difficulty just described. "The idea—which I believe to be new—is to translate about two pages of "Caesar into English for every one page that is left in Latin. There is no idea "of making Caesar easier. I have only tried, as far as is consistent with

"preserving the due proportions of Latin and English, to retain in Latin the "most interesting and typical passages. The lesson to be prepared will be a "portion of Latin and a portion of English. The amount of the translated "passages in the lesson will vary somewhat; but there is no reason why lessons "should be mechanically uniform, and I do not think that any real difficulty "will arise in this connexion.

"THE SYSTEM should secure four advantages:

"1. Much more Caesar can be read than under the old method. Boys in "a lower-fifth form should be able to go through the greater part of "*The Gallic War* in a year. Some of it will indeed have been read "in English; but even in English Caesar is Caesar, and they will "have got a grasp of his great work as a whole.

"2. It is generally agreed that more attention should be given in schools "to the subject-matter of the classics. But if considerable portions "are read in English, it will be impossible not to be aware of, and, "it is hoped, interested in, the story. The notes on the English "portions are particularly intended to call attention to points of "historical and literary interest.

"3. At the same time, this method allows of full attention being given to "linguistic and grammatical points in the Latin portions of the text.

"4. The English portions may be found useful for retranslation into "Latin Prose."

¶ *The Success of the Experiment*

THE welcome given by schools to the edition of Caesar's *Gallic War*, IV & V, has persuaded the Delegates that the method can be fruitfully applied to other writings and writers. They have secured the service as General Editor of Mr. R. W. LIVINGSTONE (Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, and author of *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us*, &c.), the originator of the method, and have in preparation, or projected, volumes drawn from AESCHYLUS, ARISTOPHANES, HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, XENOPHON, LUCRETIUS, LIVY (two volumes), CAESAR (several volumes, including a volume from the *Civil War*), SALLUST (two volumes), TACITUS, &c. Among those who are contributing to the series are Mr. CYRIL BAILEY (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. HAROLD BUTLER (Professor of Latin in the University of London), Mr. C. E. FREEMAN (General Editor of the popular Junior Latin Series, &c.), Mr. JOHN JACKSON (translator of Virgil and Marcus Aurelius in the Oxford Translation Series, editor of Horace, *Select Odes*), Mr. D. C. MACGREGOR (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. M. R. RIDLEY (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. C. E. ROBINSON (of Winchester College), Mr. A. E. ZIMMERN (formerly Tutor of New College, and author of *The Greek Commonwealth*, &c.).

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Modern names of towns, rivers, and hills are printed in italic characters, e.g. Mainz.
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CAESAR

Books IV (20–38) and V of the GALLIC WAR

Partly in the Original and partly in Translation

Edited by

R. W. LIVINGSTONE

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GAUL IN THE TIME OF CAESAR . . *Frontispiece*
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Mr. Freeman is responsible for the Latin Text, the notes on it, the vocabulary, and the part of the introduction relating to the Roman army: the rest of the introduction is mine, as are the English translation and the notes on it. We have read each other's portions, but we are responsible only for our own.

We should like to express our obligations to Mr. Rice Holmes's volumes on Caesar, which are indispensable to readers of The Gallic War. *And we should be grateful for any criticisms and suggestions, especially since it is hoped to extend this experiment to other books of Caesar and possibly to other authors.*

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

INTRODUCTION

Caesar's Appointment to Gaul

In 59 B. C. Caesar became Governor of Illyricum and Gaul. If you had asked an impartial Roman at that time who Caesar was, and what was the province to which he had been appointed, you would have been told that he was a man of forty-one, sprung from one of the chief patrician families in Rome; that as a young man he had seen military service in Asia and had pleaded at the Roman bar; that now, in spite of his birth, he was the most prominent and able leader of the democratic party, and that, apart from this, he was chiefly famous for his fashionable and rather fast life, and for his heavy debts. If you inquired about his powers as a general, you would have been told that he had won some military experience in Spain, which he had governed as praetor two years before; but that he owed his present position, not to any proved capacity for governing or making war, but to a political agreement, which the three most powerful men in Rome, Crassus, the great financier, Pompeius, the famous general, and Caesar, the leader of the democrats, had made between them and forced on the Senate. 'A political job,' your informant might have added; 'and Caesar suffers from epilepsy and is not young; but he is an extraordinarily clever man.' Yet no contemporary of Caesar could have guessed in 59 B. C. what we know now, that within twelve years Caesar's military exploits would have placed him among the greatest generals in history, and left him sole ruler

of the Roman world. The *De Bello Gallico* tells the story of perhaps the greatest of these exploits, the conquest of Gaul.

What his Province was Like

Take a map and look at the province which he was to govern. Really it was three provinces—Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and Gallia Narbonensis—combined for the occasion under one man and held for the unprecedented time of five years (in 55 B. C. the governorship was prolonged for five years more). Look first at the eastern side of the Adriatic, now called Dalmatia, over part of which the Italians and Jugo-Slavs have recently been disputing: start a little above Durazzo and move northwards to the peninsula of Istria; you will then have gone through Illyricum. Moving north-west from Istria, you come to Gallia Cisalpina, 'Gaul this side of the Alps,' the great northern plain of Italy shut in between the Alps and Apennines. And then across the Alps there is Gallia Narbonensis. Start at the Pyrenees, and draw a line from them including and passing north of Toulouse; then keeping below the Cevennes, continue the line just north of Vienne to Geneva, then turn south, till the sea is reached near Nice. That line will roughly include the Provincia Narbonensis, 'the Province' (the word survives in the modern *Provence*), which passed into Roman hands sixty-two years before Caesar went to rule it. Romans might affect to call it *Gallia bracata*—'Gaul in breeks'—but its inhabitants were civilized and prosperous, and had in Marseilles a Greek centre of education and of trade with more than five hundred years of history behind it. In 'the Province', as in Cisalpine Gaul, Caesar's duties were the ordinary work of a Roman governor, arranging finances and holding

courts of law at the chief towns of the *conventus*, or 'circuits', as we should call them, into which the province was divided. His habit was to campaign all the summer and to attend to this business in the winter. (Similarly, for the modern Indian civil servant, the year is divided in two parts; only, as India is a hot climate, he spends the summer, when active open-air work is difficult, in his office, and tours through his district in the cool season.) We have one curious sign, both of Caesar's energy and of his wide interests, in a book on the theory of grammar, which he wrote as he crossed the Alps one spring on his way back from Cisalpine Gaul to his army.

But beyond the Province lay an unknown Gaul, much as an unknown America lay beyond the first settlements of Dutch and British in New England and Virginia; *Gallia comata* the Romans called it, from the long, flowing hair of its inhabitants. It was a land much bigger than the France of to-day, including Belgium and parts of Holland, of Switzerland and of modern Germany; its boundary on north and west was the Rhine. Caesar can have known little of its geography (that is why he gives so few place-names and why, for instance, we do not know for certain from what port he sailed for Britain or where he landed). He was going to explore as well as to conquer. Traders may have told him of rich pastures and walled towns, and of the oak forests that then covered Flanders and Lorraine; and he must have known of the three big groups of peoples which he mentions in the first chapter of his book, the Belgae in the north, the Aquitanians in the south-west, and the miscellaneous tribes whom he calls Celtae in the centre. Some of these peoples, like the Belgae and the Aremorican peoples in Normandy and Brittany, had formed leagues. But they were loosely united; disunion was the curse and ruin of Gaul. The

tribes were divided from each other, and each tribe was divided against itself. The key to the politics of Gaul, as these chapters show, was the quarrelling between tribes and between rival nobles within each tribe, and Caesar used that key to unlock the door of the land. Power was mainly in the hands of the Druids and the chiefs. Caesar calls these chiefs *equites*, and they were not unlike the barons of English history, with their courage and chivalry and their hosts of retainers. The Gallic infantry was of little account, and their armies depended on the cavalry. But it has been estimated that the Belgae alone could put half a million men in the field. Against these Caesar was going with a force of four legions—perhaps 24,000 men—and some auxiliary troops. He raised four more legions during his campaigns, but he never had more than eight.

His Task and his Achievement

Why was Caesar going? Why did he desire to be governor of Gaul? Partly it was for the spoil, the money to pay his debts and satisfy his ambitions. Partly he was drawn by the love of adventure and the wish to make an army and a military reputation that would help him to attain his political aims. But there were other reasons. Of late years certain names had often been on men's lips at Rome in debates of the senate and in talk of foreign policy—the names of Ariovistus and Dumnorix, of the Germani, the Helvetii, the Aedui. Waves of German migration were breaking on the western lands of Gaul; the Aedui, friends and allies of the Roman people, had been defeated by the German prince Ariovistus, whom their rivals, the Sequani, had called in to assist them, and Ariovistus with 120,000 of his countrymen was comfortably established in Gaul. Under the

pressure of other Germans, the Celtic Helvetii were moving from their homes in Western Switzerland and proposing to settle in Gaul; and Dumnorix (whom we shall meet in these books), the head of an anti-Roman party among the Aedui, was intriguing with and encouraging them. It is not surprising that the Roman politicians were anxious. Old men could remember the German migrations of fifty years before, when four Roman armies had been destroyed, and the invaders had only been repelled by the genius of Marius in two desperate battles, fought, the one near the modern watering-place of Aix-les-Bains, the other in the Lombard plain itself. There was but one legion in 'the Province'. The Helvetii alone numbered more than 350,000 souls, and behind them were the uncounted hordes of Germany. Caesar was not going to an easy war of spoil and conquest. The sky was black with impending dangers.

He left Rome in the middle of the March of 58 B.C. By October in that year the Helvetii had been defeated and sent back to their Swiss homes, Ariovistus with his Germans had been driven across the Rhine, and Caesar was disposing his legions in Besançon, sixty miles north of 'the Province', in the unknown and hitherto unconquered Gaul. In the next spring he struck again, this time at the great confederacy of tribes known as the Belgae, who inhabited Northern France and Belgium. By the autumn, after fighting on the Aisne and a desperate struggle on the Sambre with the Nervii, he had carried Roman arms as far north as Liége and as far west as Brittany. In 56 the Veneti and other tribes of Brittany rebelled and Caesar had to organize a fleet; he defeated them with it, and Quiberon Bay saw the first great battle on its waters. Meanwhile his lieutenant, Crassus, reduced Aquitaine as far as the Pyrenees, and

Gaul was nominally conquered except for the Menapii and the Morini on the sea coast. Early in the next year, two migrating German tribes—the Usipetes and Tencteri—were driven into the Rhine, and Caesar bridged the river and made an eighteen days' campaign in Germany. Such, in a few words, were Caesar's achievements between 58 and 55 B. C. They can be read in the first four and a half books of the *De Bello Gallico* or in the English of Mr. Warde Fowler's delightful volume on Caesar, or, at greater length, in Mr. Rice Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul.* A glance at the map shows how much Caesar achieved; but neither maps nor books can give an idea of what these three and a half summers must have meant to the man on whose shoulders lay the burden of strategy and diplomacy, of provisionment, of long marches and desperate fighting, of the weary uncertainties and quick decisions of war, of the dangers, certain and uncertain, of campaigning in a hostile country without maps or knowledge of the land. It is by all this, as well as by the square miles which he conquered, that Caesar's genius is to be measured.

The bridging of the Rhine brings us well into the summer of 55 B. C., where the part of the Gallic war printed in this book opens. It records no great successes like those before it, but only a daring enterprise frustrated by the courage and skill with which our ancestors fought, and a great disaster. But it is not the less interesting, because it shows Caesar coping with difficulties and adversity.

Why Caesar is worth Reading

Now we can see why Caesar is worth reading. Three men in the history of Europe have been equally great as soldiers and as statesmen: Caesar is one of them,

and he is the only one who has himself written the history of his campaigns. There is no one who would not, if he could, call up the spirits of these men and question them on their achievements and experiences. Now in this book we have something like the spirit of Caesar; at least we have his own authentic words written in stray moments in the intervals of administrative and military work, while he was organizing the government of Gaul in the years before the great struggle of the civil war. If we read with intelligence, we shall see how a Roman army made war; what are the weaknesses and strength of native tribes; what methods of diplomacy Caesar used with them, and how he fought them; what were the difficulties of campaigning and how they were met. Through it all moves the figure of a great man; we see how he faced the sudden crises of warfare, how he treated and inspired his troops, where he was lenient and where severe, what mistakes he made, and why the world has agreed to call him great.

Besides, Caesar's work in Gaul is the sort of work that has been done, and will be done in the future, by many of those who read him at school. These struggles between big native hosts and the small disciplined forces of civilized nations, these campaigns in unexplored countries, recall the work of British soldiers and statesmen on the frontiers of our empire, and if we had to find a modern parallel to Caesar's task, we might look for something like it in Lord Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India,* or Col. Durand's *Making of a Frontier.*

Finally, Caesar's achievement in these seven years has deeply affected the history of the world. Not only did he drive the Germans across the Rhine, fix a frontier that they observed for 300 years, and relieve Rome for a time from the threat of barbarian invasion,

he did something that concerns the modern world more closely. We talk to-day of France as a 'Latin' nation, contrasting her with the Germans, who never became members of the Roman empire and took their civilization from elsewhere. But it was thanks to Caesar that French law is based on Roman law, that you will find Roman monuments and basilica churches in so many towns of France, and that the best introduction to the French language is Latin. Britain—*extremo divisos orbe Britannos*—lay on the very verge of the Roman world, and was less deeply affected. Yet it was Caesar who pointed the way to our country, and first brought us within the orbit of western civilization.

Date and Purpose of the *Commentarii*

The *Commentarii* relate Caesar's Gallic campaigns up to the end of 52 B.C.; from a favourable mention of Pompeius (VII. 6) we may infer that they were published before Caesar's quarrel with him in 50 B.C., and there are good reasons for believing that they were compiled and published in 51 B.C. The word *commentarii* means 'note-books', and the *De Bello Gallico* is not a history in the usual sense of the word, but merely an account of the conquest of Gaul. It is something between the dispatches of a commander-in-chief and the articles which a war correspondent writes for *The Times* or *Morning Post*; indeed, it might serve as a good model for a war correspondent. But in writing the book Caesar had his eye on the public in Rome, who would be pleased to learn how a new country had been added to the Roman empire, and impressed by the achievements of their general and his men. Waverers would be won to his side by admiration, enemies alarmed by the evidence of his genius.

Caesar's Style

The *Commentarii* have been praised for their style ever since Cicero called them 'bare, direct, graceful, stripped of all dress or adornment of style' (*Brutus*, 262). This is an exact description of what they are. They are not perfectly polished specimens of the art of writing. There are slips in grammar (e.g. *ei*, V. 27. 2). There are clumsy repetitions of words (e.g. *proelio*, V. 16. 2, 3; *ut*, V. 43. 5). You can find many of these; the wonder is that, with Gaul to be governed and enemies at home to be watched, the *Commentarii* are so well arranged, and, on the whole, so carefully written. When the critics praise Caesar's style, they do not mean that he was a polished writer; they are thinking of a greater quality than polish; what they admire is his clear, simple, and natural way of writing. Most boys when they begin to write, and many men when they ought to know better, think that good style consists in 'purple patches' and 'fine writing'. Caesar thought otherwise. He kept his eye on his subject, and only thought of describing it in the clearest way possible. The result is that we are not conscious that he has a style at all; we simply see what he is describing. And because the first object in writing is to convey to the reader what is in the writer's mind, Caesar is a good model of style.

A French novelist used every day to read some pages of a law book in order to keep himself close to facts and free from 'fine writing'. Caesar had a better protection. Prettinesses and affectations are forgotten on the battlefield, because they are useless and there is no time for them there. We see in Caesar's style the reflection of Caesar himself—direct, clear-headed, going straight to the point—the ideal man of action.

How to read Caesar

The first thing we must do is to forget all that we know to have happened after the midsummer of 55 B. C.; to find ourselves in Gaul that July, and not knowing what sort of country lay across the Channel, to be present at the interview when Caesar vainly tried to learn from the secretive Gallic merchants something about the land which he hoped to conquer; then to follow him step by step into the veiled future. History is spoilt when we know its results: to enjoy it we should see the events as they appeared to the actors, who took their lives in their hands, and faced difficulty and danger without knowing the way out, or how it was all going to end. Take, for instance, the first landing in Britain. Forget for the moment how it all ended, and see simply the 'open and level' beach at Deal; eighty strange-looking ships and some smaller vessels standing as close in as they can go, but still some way from the shore, and a number of heavily armed Roman soldiers floundering in deep water with javelins falling thickly round and on them. They are hesitating and beginning to lose their nerve, while mounted Britons adroitly cut off isolated parties; in fact, there is every promise of a disaster. Then think what you would have done if you had been Caesar—and then read what Caesar did. If we study in this way, we shall realize at the end what a great man of action is like.

Another point akin to this. Always in reading *see* the scene; any one who can draw and reads Caesar ought to be able to make an illustrated edition of his book.

The Roman Army in the Time of Caesar

1. Recruiting. The legions, which were composed entirely of infantry, were recruited from Roman citizens

only. In the earlier days of the Republic the consuls of the year held a levy (*dilectus*) at Rome and raised from the four tribes a sufficient force to serve during the period of their office. Service was compulsory and short; the army was a militia. In the time of Caesar the extension of citizenship over Italy south of the Po had largely increased the area of recruitment, and the soldiers, now enlisted not merely for a campaign but for twenty years, had become a professional class. When a levy was held by Caesar or subordinates acting on his behalf, it might take place at any convenient centre, and regular recruiting officers (*conquisitores*) were employed. As the length of service had made the well-to-do class very unwilling to enlist, compulsion was evaded by interest or payment, and the rank and file of the legions were composed of men who took service as a means of livelihood.

2. **The strength of a legion and its divisions.** The nominal strength of a legion was six thousand. It is not likely, however, that it was often maintained, and there can be no doubt that the number of men that could be brought into action at the same time was far below this, probably under four thousand. Indeed, Caesar tells us (V. 49. 7) that when he marched with two legions to the relief of Cicero, his camp was 'of scarcely seven thousand men', and this must have included four hundred cavalry that he had with him. The legion was divided into ten cohorts; the cohort contained three maniples, each of which was composed of two centuries (*centuriae* or *ordines*). These last, as their name implies, ought to have consisted of one hundred men, but the actual number in the field can hardly have been more than sixty. Before the reforms of Marius (about 100 B.C.) the three maniples of the cohort were distinguished as *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, which differed in length

of service and to some extent in equipment, the *triarii* being the veteran troops and coming into action when the others had failed to achieve success. Marius made the cohort his unit, and all legionaries were armed alike, the distinction of the *hastati*, &c., in the cohort being retained only to indicate precedence among its centurions.

3. **The chief officers of the legion.** These were the six military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) and sixty centurions. Of the former, twenty-four were elected yearly by the *comitia tributa* and the rest appointed by the consuls. They were entrusted with the command of the legion and various administrative duties, two taking charge at a time. Some, no doubt, were brave and competent men. We hear (V. 28) that a number of them supported Cotta in his opposition to Titurius; but it is clear that they were often chosen with little regard to military qualities, and that their presence with an army in the field was due to personal or political influence. In I. 39 Caesar gives an extraordinary description of the panic that originated partly with these officers at the prospect of having to fight Germans. Some spent the time in weeping over their fate and making their wills; others, with more assurance, asked for leave on the plea of pressing business elsewhere. It is not surprising that Caesar was dissatisfied with the system of command, and, as he tells us (I. 52. 1), he introduced the practice of appointing to each legion one of the ten *legati*, or staff officers, who were assigned to him by the senate. We hear also of his *quaestor*, M. Crassus, commanding one of the three legions posted in the territory of the Belgae (V. 24. 3). Strictly speaking, the *quaestor* was the paymaster of the army and looked after the disposal of the booty.

The centurions, or commanders of *centuriae*, were

raised from the ranks and may be compared with our non-commissioned officers, but a system of promotion gave to some of them a position of honour and importance. The cohorts were numbered in gradation from one to ten, and the six centurions of the first cohort were the highest in the legion and, as we find (V. 28. 3), were admitted to a council of war. They were called *primorum ordinum centuriones*, or shortly, *primi ordines*. The most distinguished of these was the *primi pili centurio*, or *primipilus*, who commanded the first of the two centuries in the maniple of the *triarii*, *pilus* being the old name of a century in the *triarii*, which was retained in this phrase only.

4. **Equipment and arms of the legionary.** All the legionaries were clothed, armed, and equipped alike. A woollen tunic was worn next the skin ; over this was a leathern coat (*lorica*), strengthened with metal bands on the breast, back, and shoulders. The thighs and shins may have been protected by strips of cloth wound round them ; at any rate the *bracae*, or short trousers, worn by the soldiers on Trajan's Column, appear to have been introduced later. On the feet were sandals (*calcei*) or thick leather shoes (*caligae*). A heavy cloak (*sagum*) was worn in wet or cold weather.

The defensive armour consisted of helmet, greaves, and shield. The helmet (*galea*) seems to have been made usually of leather strengthened with bronze ; the iron helmet (*cassis*) is mentioned by Caesar as characteristic of the cavalry. The greaves (*ocreae*) were made of bronze and protected the leg below the knee. Often one was worn on the right leg only, as this leg was advanced in fighting. The shield (*scutum*) was of wood, covered with leather or iron plates. It was four feet high and two feet, or rather more, broad, and curved to encircle the body.

The offensive weapons were the sword and spear. The sword (*gladius*) had a broad blade about two feet long, double edged and pointed. It hung from a shoulder-belt (*balteus*) and was worn by the rank and file on the right side, as the shield was on the left arm. Officers, who usually carried no shield, wore it on their left side, and this explains the difficulty that Pullo had to draw his sword (V. 44. 8). The *pilum*, the characteristic weapon of the Roman infantry, was a spear or javelin about six feet long. The shaft, four feet in length, was of wood, and on to it was fitted a shank of soft iron terminating in a steel head. When the *pilum* was driven into an object, the iron shank bent, and the weapon could not be withdrawn easily and used again with effect; but in II. 27. 4 we hear that the Nervii threw back the *pila intercepta*. On account of its size and weight (about nine pounds) it was impossible for the legionary to carry many *pila*. In Caesar's army it is probable that only one was carried. After a successful engagement the *pila* could, of course, be recovered and soon made serviceable, but a reverse, however temporary, must have caused a serious loss, and we do not know what reserve a legion would have with it, though it seems likely that some additional *pila* were carried in the *impedimenta* (§ 7).

5. **Pay and food.** Caesar paid his legionaries 225 *denarii* (rather less than £8) a year, with a moderate deduction for food and equipment. The soldier was better off than the day labourer at Rome, who received the same wages, but had to provide himself with shelter of some sort and probably to pay more for his food. The daily ration was about two pounds of wheaten flour or of unground corn, which the soldiers had to grind for themselves in hand-mills. No doubt they ate meat sometimes when it came in their way, but Caesar's only anxiety seems to have been for the supply of *frumentum*.

6. **Auxiliary troops.** The light-armed troops (*levis armatura*) and cavalry (*equitatus, equites*) were not composed of Roman citizens, but of foreigners. They formed no part of the legion, and as they originally operated on its wings (*alae*), they are sometimes called *alarii*. They were composed of slingers, archers, and javelin men, chiefly recruited from the Balearic Isles, Crete, and Africa. We hear of Gallic, German, and Spanish cavalry. It was useful in scouting and in pursuit of a broken enemy, but the Gallic contingents, at any rate, often proved untrustworthy on account of insufficient training and, perhaps, doubtful loyalty. On one occasion 4,000 of them were defeated by 500 Helvetii, and at the beginning of the fourth book we find that 5,000 of them were seized with panic and fled before 800 Germans. Caesar ordered them to march behind the legions till they had recovered their nerve, and later on tells us with sarcastic gravity that he sent them to hunt down the women and children.

7. **The army on the march** is usually called *agmen* (the column). The heavy baggage (*impedimenta*), such as tents, artillery, &c., was carried on wagons; the legionary had to carry his rations, hand-mill, heavy cloak, entrenching tools, and one or two stakes to be used for fortification, in addition to his weapons. These things were made up in bundles (*sarcinae*), and soldiers thus loaded were said to be *sub sarcinis*. If for any special purpose they were relieved of most of them, they were said to be *expediti* (unencumbered). The whole weight was about sixty pounds, about three-quarters of that usually carried by our infantry at the present day.

8. **The order of battle.** When battle was imminent, the legion was, if possible, drawn up across the slope of a hill, the *locus superior* of which Caesar speaks so

often. The cohorts were arranged in three lines (*triplex acies*); four were in the first line, each the length of a cohort's front from its neighbour, and three in the second line, covering these intervals; behind them, again, the three cohorts of the third line covered the intervals in the second. The maniples were posted side by side, the soldiers standing ten deep. As the enemy approached, they were assailed by the missiles of the light-armed troops; when they were near enough, the legionaries discharged their *pila* and then, drawing their swords, rushed down on their opponents. If this attack failed to break their ranks, the first line fell back and the second took its place, being relieved presently, if necessary, by the first line, now reformed. The third line was kept as a reserve and not brought into action until it was clear that the first and second could not drive the enemy back.

9. **Signa.** The standard of the legion was the *aquila*, a silver eagle carried on the top of a pole. Beneath it was often a *vexillum*, a small square flag fastened to a cross-bar. The eagle was always entrusted to some soldier of tried courage, and its loss was the greatest disgrace that a legion could suffer. When the *aquilifer*, or standard-bearer, jumped into the sea with the eagle in his hand (IV. 25. 3), he knew that the men were bound to follow. In V. 37. 5 we have an example of a standard-bearer determined to save the *aquila*, whatever might happen to himself.

The word *signa*, which might include the eagle, was used also in a narrower sense of the special ensigns of the smaller units, the *signum* of the cohort being a silver-plated pole and that of the maniple a lance with an outspread hand on its point. These various *signa* led the way for the unit or marked its rallying-place. We hear that in the landing (IV. 26. 1) the soldiers

were unable to follow their standards (*signa subsequi*), and consequently lost their order of battle; and when the men under Titurius were surrounded and demoralized (V. 33. 6), it is especially noticed that they left their standards (*ab signis discederent*). The tactical use of the *signa* was so constant and general, that the word appears in a great number of military phrases; e. g. *signa constituere*, 'to halt'; *signa proferre*, 'to advance'; *signa convertere*, 'to wheel'; *signa conferre*, 'to engage'; *signa inferre*, 'to make an attack'.

10. **The camp.** When the Romans were marching through an enemy's country, they fortified a camp every night. This was placed, if possible, on the slope of a hill, with a convenient *locus superior* before it in case of attack, and near wood and water. It was square or, at any rate, quadrilateral and right-angled. It was protected by a trench (*fossa*) and a wall (*agger, vallum*), built chiefly of earth dug out of the trench. This wall was strengthened by a palisade of large stakes (*valli*) on the top of it. The entrance in front was called the *porta praetoria*, because it was connected by the *via praetoria* with the *praetorium*, the site of the headquarters' tents in the centre of the camp. At the back was the *porta decumana*, and at right angles to a line between these gates ran the *via principalis*, with an entrance at each end, and the *via quintana*. The soldiers slept in tents (*tentoria*) made of skins (*pelles*).

The permanent camps (*castra stativa*), such as the *hiberna* of Caesar's *legati*, were more elaborate and more strongly fortified. The soldiers slept in huts (*casae*), as we find V. 43. 1.

11. **Attack on fortified places.** If a sudden assault failed (V. 40. 1), the enemy might attempt to reduce a stronghold by blockade (*obsidio*) or by an organized attack (*oppugnatio*). We have examples of both in the

account of the efforts to take Cicero's camp (V. 42, 43, 52). Caesar is surprised to see the *munitiones*, *turres*, and *testudines* made by the Gauls, who had been instructed by Roman prisoners. *Munitiones* are probably the entrenchment and wall made to blockade the camp. *Turres* were wooden towers of great height, built in many stories and movable. They were pushed up to the wall in order to allow the attacking party to shoot at the defenders from a position of advantage. *Testudines* (tortoises) were movable sheds used to protect the besiegers as they cleared the ground within shot of the wall. The word was also used to mean a body of soldiers whose front rank stood close to the wall with their shields held before them, while those behind them, standing in files at some little distance apart from each other, held their shields above their heads at right angles to the files. Between them other soldiers, thus protected, carried earth or any suitable material, filled up the trench if there was one, and made a mound sloping up to the top of the wall, which was afterwards used for the attack.

The great Roman siege-work was the *agger*. It was a huge mound, begun at a distance from the object of attack and gradually advanced by workmen, who were protected by large wooden shields (*plutei*), till it was close to the wall. It was of great height, made of earth and fascines, which were strengthened with boards and even with masonry, and built in several stories with a passage along the middle of each. Towers were sometimes wheeled along the top, carrying archers and slingers to drive off the defenders, while through the passages earth or material of some sort was brought to fill up the trench and make a continuous slope to the wall.

12. **Artillery.** The Roman artillery was of three

sorts, all known by the common name *tormenta* (from *torquere*, 'to twist'). They were worked like a cross-bow, but the elasticity of the bow was exchanged for elasticity in the twist of cords. The frame consisted of three divisions; the centre of these contained the groove along which the missile moved; in each of the lateral divisions a set of strong elastic cords or thongs was stretched tight in a vertical direction, and into each of these sets was fixed a straight unelastic arm of wood to which an end of the bowstring was fastened. When the machine was discharged, the arms, and with them the string and the missile in front of it, were driven forward by the twisting of the vertical cords. The largest of these engines were called *ballistae*. They could shoot a great stone or other missile as heavy as 162 lb. into the air at an angle of some fifty degrees, and might carry as much as five hundred yards. *Catapultae* shot smaller missiles along a horizontal groove and had a range of about four hundred yards. *Ballistae* and *catapultae* were used only in attacking or defending towns or fortresses; *scorpiones*, much smaller and lighter, were used sometimes in the field. It was probably these that were fired (IV. 25. 1) from the decks of the Roman galleys.

SOUTH EASTERN BRITAIN

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50

The outlines of the estuary between Thanet and the mainland, and of Romney Marsh are intended to show approximately the high-water mark of spring tides. (A.B., *p. XVI.*)

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GALLIC WAR

BOOK IV

Caesar determines to invade Britain late in the summer of 55 B.C. Failing to get any information about the island from traders, he sends Volusenus to reconnoitre the coast. Many British tribes make submission, which Caesar accepts, at the same time warning them that he proposes to land very soon.

20 Little of the summer remained; yet, though the winter comes early in these parts, because all Gaul trends northwards, Caesar determined to start for Britain. He was aware that in practically all our fighting in Gaul help had been given from Britain to our enemies, and 2 even if the season did not permit of a campaign, he thought that it would be of great assistance to him if he could merely visit the island and inform himself about its inhabitants, geography, harbours, and means of approach; on practically all of these subjects the Gauls had no information. No one readily visited Britain 3 except traders, and even they knew nothing but the sea coast and the districts opposite Gaul. Caesar accord- 4 ingly summoned traders from all parts; but he could not ascertain the size of the island, the character or numbers of the tribes inhabiting it, their methods of fighting, or their institutions, nor could he learn what ports were suitable for a number of large vessels.

21 C. Volusenus with a ship of war was sent in advance by Caesar, who thought him a suitable envoy, to make these inquiries before Caesar himself attempted any- thing; he was instructed to make every investigation 2 and return as soon as he could. Caesar himself set out 3 with all his forces for the Morini, because the shortest crossing to Britain is from their country. Here he 4 ordered a concentration of vessels from all the district round, as well as of the fleet which he had built in the

previous summer for the war with the Veneti. Meanwhile his plan became known and was reported to the Britons by merchants, and envoys came from several states in the island to promise hostages and obedience to the Roman rule. Caesar heard them, and, after making gracious promises and encouraging them to maintain their present attitude, sent them home, and with them Commius, whom he had made king of the Atrebates after defeating that tribe. He was a man of whose character and prudence Caesar had a high opinion; he thought him faithful to his cause, and his influence in these districts was highly esteemed. Caesar ordered him to visit such states as he could, to urge them to put their trust in Rome, and to announce Caesar's speedy arrival. Volusenus examined all the ground as far as he had an opportunity to do so, for he did not dare to disembark and put himself at the mercy of the natives. After four days he returned to Caesar and reported the result of his examination.

The greater part of the Morini submit voluntarily. The number of Caesar's transports; his measures to secure his base in Gaul.

22 While Caesar stayed in this district to procure ships, envoys came to him from a large section of the Morini, to excuse their previous policy and to promise to do whatever he ordered; they were only foreigners, they said, and had made war on Rome in ignorance of our ways. Caesar thought this a very opportune event, for he did not wish to leave an enemy in his rear; the time of year did not allow him to make a campaign, nor did he think he ought to occupy himself with trifles like this instead of invading Britain.

He ordered the Morini to surrender a large number of hostages, and on receiving these admitted them to terms. After collecting and concentrating about eighty merchant vessels, which he thought sufficient for the transport of two legions, he allotted the remaining men-of-war to his quaestor, legates, and prefects. Besides these there were eighteen merchant ships eight miles away, which were detained by the wind and unable to make the same port. He assigned these to the cavalry.

He gave the rest of his army to the legates, Q. Titurius 5
Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, to march to the
Menapii and to those towns of the Morini which had
not sent him envoys; he directed the legate P. Sulpicius 6
Rufus to hold the port with what he considered a
sufficient garrison.

Caesar sails for Britain and anchors off a shore shut in by steep cliffs, where it is impossible to land in face of opposition. He finds a convenient landing-place seven miles away.

His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum 23
tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit equitesque in ulte-
riorem portum progredi et navis conscendere et se sequi
iussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, 2
ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britan-
niam attigit atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas ho-
stium copias armatas conspexit. Cuius loci haec erat 3
natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti
ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset. Hunc ad 4
egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum
reliquae naves eo convenirent ad horam nonam in ancoris
exspectavit. Interim, legatis tribunisque militum convo- 5
catis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset et quae fieri vellet
ostendit; monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut
maritimae res postularent, ut quae celerem atque insta-
bilem motum haberent, ad nutum et ad tempus omnes
res ab eis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum et 6
aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et
sublatis ancoris, circiter milia passuum septem ab eo
loco progressus aperto ac plano litore navis constituit.

The difficulties of landing. The Romans, led by the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, at length gain a footing on the shore.

At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito praemisso 24
equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis
uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus

egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis, audacter tela coicerent et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque huius omnino generis pugnae imperiti, non eadem alacritate ac studio quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant utebantur.

25 Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, navis longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostis propelli ac summoveri iussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura et remorum motu et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulerunt. Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, 'Desilite,' inquit, 'milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero.' Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi proiecit atque in hostis aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis navibus cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

After a fierce struggle the enemy are routed. They ask for peace and accept the terms which Caesar imposes.

Both sides fought fiercely. Our men, however, were unable to maintain their ranks, or get a firm footing, or

follow their standards; parties from the various ships grouped themselves round the first standard they came across; and they fell into great disorder. The 2 enemy, on the other hand, knew all the shallows, and when they saw from the shore some individuals leaving a ship, they spurred their horses and attacked them while they were in difficulties. They surrounded small 3 parties with a larger force; and others kept discharging spears against our whole body on its uncovered flank. Caesar saw this, and, ordering the boats of the men-of- 4 war and some scout vessels to be manned with soldiers, he kept sending help to those whom he had observed to be in distress. As soon as our men had got a footing 5 on dry land, and all their friends had followed, they charged and routed the enemy. They could not follow them farther, because the cavalry had been unable to keep their course and reach Britain. This was the one point in which Caesar's previous luck failed him.

As soon as the defeated Britons had rallied from their **27** rout, they at once sent envoys to Caesar to treat for peace, and promised to give hostages and do what he commanded. With these envoys came the Atrebatian 2 Commius, who, as I previously stated, was sent by Caesar to Britain in advance. He was acting as envoy 3 and bringing Caesar's instructions to the Britons, when they arrested and threw him into chains on landing; after the battle had taken place they sent him back, and 4 in suing for peace threw the blame on the mob, and begged that they might be excused on the score of ignorance. Caesar complained that they had voluntarily 5 sent ambassadors to Gaul to ask for peace, yet had made an unprovoked attack on him. He said, however, that he pardoned their ignorance, and he ordered them to give hostages. Some of these they gave on the spot; 6 others, they stated, had to be fetched from a distance and would be surrendered in a few days. Meanwhile, 7 they told their men to return to the countryside, while the leaders began to assemble from everywhere and to commend themselves and their tribes to Caesar.

Two misfortunes happen to Caesar. His cavalry is prevented by a storm from reaching Britain, and the same storm,

accompanied by an unexpectedly high tide, does great damage to the ships, which had been drawn on to the shore or anchored by it.

28 His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum naves XVIII, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore
2 portu leni vento solverunt. Quae cum appropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis
3 occasum, magno sui cum periculo deicerentur; quae tamen, ancoris iactis, cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae, continentem petierunt.

29 Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit, nos-
2 trisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas navis, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus compleverat et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas adflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi
3 aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquae cum essent funibus, ancoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta
4 est. Neque enim naves erant aliae quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant quae ad reficiendas navis erant usui et, quod omnibus constabat hiemare in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

The consequence is that the British chieftains determine to renew hostilities in the belief that the Romans will not be able to get supplies or to sail back. Caesar, suspecting their design, pro-

visions his troops as well as he can and repairs most of the ships.

On learning this, the British chiefs who had flocked 30
to Caesar after the battle conferred together. They
saw that the Romans were ill provided with cavalry,
ships, and corn; they knew the scantiness of their
numbers from the small size of the camp, which was the
more confined because Caesar had transported his
legions without their baggage. They therefore thought 2
their best course was to rise, prevent our army from
obtaining corn and other supplies, and prolong matters
to the winter. If this force was conquered or cut off
from returning, they felt sure that no one henceforward
would cross the seas to attack Britain. They therefore 3
again began to plot, and by degrees began to leave the
camp and quietly to withdraw their men from the
countryside.

Though Caesar had not yet learnt their plan, he 31
suspected what actually came to pass, because of the
fate of his ships and the fact that the Britons had dis-
continued giving hostages. He therefore made prepara- 2
tions to meet any emergency. Each day he used to
bring corn from the country to the camp, while he
employed the timber and bronze of the most seriously
damaged ships to repair the others, and ordered
materials serviceable for this purpose to be collected
from the continent. His men carried out the work with 3
the greatest energy, and though twelve vessels were
lost, made the remainder sufficiently seaworthy.

The seventh legion is attacked and surrounded by cavalry and charioteers, while it is getting corn. Caesar hastens to its assistance.

While this was going on, a single legion, as usual, 32
called the seventh, had been sent to forage. (Up to that
time no suspicion of war had arisen, for some Britons
were still in the countryside, and some even used to visit
the camp.) The troops on guard before the camp gates told
Caesar that an unusually large cloud of dust was visible
in the direction in which the legion had marched. Caesar 2
suspected the truth—that the Britons had adopted some

new plan—and directed the cohorts on guard to march with him in that direction, while two of the others took their places on guard, and the remainder armed and
3 quickly followed him. They had got some distance from the camp when he saw the Romans close pressed and barely holding out against the enemy: the legion was crowded together, and javelins were being thrown at it
4 on all sides. The corn had been reaped everywhere, except in one place, and the enemy, suspecting that our troops would go there, had concealed themselves by
5 night in the woods. They had then suddenly attacked them while they were scattered, busy reaping, and with their arms laid aside; they had killed a few; the rest, whose ranks were broken, they had thrown into disorder, at the same time surrounding them with cavalry and chariots.

A description of the employment of chariots in action and of the extraordinary skill of their drivers.

33 Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnis partis perequitant et tela coiciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant et, cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt,
2 ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus collocant ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur,
3 expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu cotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi moderari ac flectere et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

Caesar rescues the legion and returns to his camp. The Britons attack it.

34 Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque

eius adventu hostes constiterunt, nostrí se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto, ad lacessendum et ad commit- 2
tendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratus suo se loco continuit et, brevi tempore intermisso, in castra legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus 3
occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui discesserunt. Secu- 4
tae sunt continuos compluris dies tempestates quae et nostros in castris continerent et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios in omnis partis 5
dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus celeriter 6
magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta ad castra venerunt.

Defeat and submission of the Britons. Caesar brings back his troops safe to Gaul.

Caesar saw that what had happened on the previous 35
days would happen again, and that the enemy, if defeated, would escape by their speed. Still, having about thirty horsemen, whom the above-mentioned Commius the Atrebatian had brought with him, he drew up the legions in battle formation in front of the camp. The armies 2
engaged, but the enemy could not long support our attack and fled. We followed them as far as speed and 3
strength allowed, killed a number, and then retired to the camp after burning every building for miles round.

That day envoys sent by the enemy came to Caesar 36
to treat for peace. Caesar doubled the number of 2
hostages which he had previously demanded, and ordered them to be brought to the Continent, because the equinox was approaching, his ships were unseaworthy, and he thought it better not to risk a storm on his voyage. The weather came fair; he set sail a little 3
after midnight, and all his ships reached the Continent safely; but two transports were unable to make the 4
same harbour as the rest, and were carried a little further down the coast.

The troops of two transports, which failed to reach the same harbours as the rest, are landed elsewhere. The Menapii attack them, but flee on the appearance of the Roman cavalry. Caesar occupies the territory of the revolted Morini and the Menapii.

37 About 300 soldiers were landed from these vessels and were marching to camp, when, attracted by hopes of spoil, the Morini, whom Caesar had left in a state of peace on his departure for Britain, surrounded them and ordered them to surrender, unless they wished to be killed. At first the Morini were in fairly small
2 numbers; afterwards, when the Romans formed a square and defended themselves, about 6,000 men hearing the shouting quickly assembled. When the news reached Caesar, he sent all the cavalry from his camp to assist
3 the Romans. Meanwhile our men sustained the enemy attack, fought with great courage for more than four hours, and killed many of their opponents. A few of
4 their own number were wounded. When our cavalry appeared, the enemy threw away their arms and fled, and many of them were killed.

38 The next day Caesar sent the legate Labienus against the revolted Morini, with the legions that he had
2 brought from Britain. The marshes were dry, and the Morini had not the retreat which they had used as a refuge in the previous year, and almost all fell into
3 the hands of Labienus. The legates Q. Titurius and L. Cotta, who had led legions into the territory of the Menapii, ravaged all their country, cut down their corn, burnt their buildings, and then retired to join Caesar, the Menapii having concealed themselves in
4 extremely dense forests. Caesar placed all his legions in winter quarters among the Belgae. Here two British states, and no more, sent hostages; the rest failed to do
5 so. For these achievements the senate, on receiving dispatches from Caesar, decreed a thanksgiving of twenty days.

BOOK V

At the beginning of 54 B.C. Caesar gives orders for the building of a large fleet of transports, designed for the second invasion of Britain. He visits Illyricum to stop the raids of the Pirustae.

When according to his regular custom Caesar left his 1
winter quarters for Italy in the year 54, he instructed the legates he had placed at the head of the legions to build as many ships during the winter as they could, and to refit the old ones. He gave directions as to their character and shape. With a view to beaching 2
and to speed in loading, he had them made rather lower than those we are accustomed to use in the Mediterranean; all the more because he had learnt that the waves were smaller in the Channel owing to the frequent changes of tides. In order to transport cargo and a number of animals, they were to be rather more beamy than those in use in the other seas. He ordered that 3
they should all be built for fast sailing, in which a low freeboard is a great help, and directed that materials 4
required for equipping the vessels should be brought from Spain. He himself held assizes in Cisalpine Gaul 5
and then left for Illyricum, hearing that the Pirustae were raiding and devastating the part of the province near them. On his arrival he ordered the states to 6
furnish soldiers who were to assemble at a fixed place. When they heard this the Pirustae sent envoys to 7
inform him that the nation was not responsible for what had taken place. They stated that they were ready to give satisfaction in any way for the wrong done. Caesar 8
heard their speech, and told them to give hostages, to be brought by a fixed day: otherwise he said that he would make war on their state. The hostages were 9
brought punctually, and he appointed umpires between the states to estimate damages and fix a penalty.

On his return to Gaul he finds the building of the fleet almost completed. After giving orders for it to assemble at Portus

Itius, he visits the Treveri with a strong force to establish Roman authority among them.

2 After settling this and holding assizes, he returned to
2 Cisalpine Gaul and from there set out to his army. On arrival he visited all the winter quarters. The soldiers' energy had been remarkable, and in spite of an extreme scarcity of everything, he found about 28 ships of war and 600 ships of the kind previously mentioned, equipped and almost in a condition to be launched in
3 a few days. He praised the soldiers and those in charge of the work, told them what he wanted, and ordered them all to assemble at Portus Itius; he had found that the most convenient passage to Britain was from this harbour, a voyage of about 30 miles from the Continent. He left what seemed a sufficient number of soldiers to
4 hold the port. He himself with four lightly equipped legions and 800 cavalry marched to the Treveri country, because this tribe neither came to the councils nor submitted to his authority, and were said to be inciting the Germans across the Rhine.

Of the two rival chieftains Cingetorix is willing to accept the Roman authority. Indutiomarus prepares for armed resistance, but finding that his supporters are falling away, he asserts his readiness to submit to Caesar.

3 Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu
valet magnasque habet copias peditum Rhenumque, ut
2 supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutiomarus et Cin-
3 getorix; e quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit, se suosque omnis in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos confirmavit, quaeque in Treveris gererentur
4 ostendit. At Indutiomarus equitatum peditatumque cogere, eisque qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant in silvam Arduennam abditis, quae ingenti magnitudine per medios finis Treverorum a flumine Rheno ad initium
5 Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed postea

quam non nulli principes ex ea civitate et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterriti ad Caesarem venerunt et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere non possent, veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur Indutiomarus legatos ad Caesarem mittit: sese idcirco ab suis 6 discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur. Itaque 7 esse civitatem in sua potestate seque, si Caesar permitteret, ad eum in castra venturum, suas civitatisque fortunas eius fidei permissurum.

Caesar distrusts Indutiomarus, but, as he has no time to spare, pretends to take him into favour on the surrender of two hundred hostages. At the same time he excites the anger of Indutiomarus by his support of Cingetorix.

Caesar, etsi intellegebat qua de causa ea dicerentur 4 quaeque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret, tamen, ne aestatem in Treveris consumere cogeretur omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum ad se cum ducentis obsidibus venire iussit. His ad- 2 ductis, in eis filio propinquisque eius omnibus quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est uti in officio maneret; nihilo tamen setius 3 principibus Treverorum ad se convocatis hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit: quod cum merito eius a se fieri intellegebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur eius auctoritatem inter suos quam plurimum valere, cuius tam egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id tulit factum 4 graviter Indutiomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui, et qui iam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

Caesar reaches Portus Itius and prepares to take with him to Britain a large number of Gallic nobles as hostages. Among these is Dumnorix the Aeduan, who, failing to induce Caesar to leave him behind, does his utmost to spread disaffection among the rest.

5 After settling this, Caesar and the legions came to
2 Portus Itius, where he learnt that 60 ships which had been built among the Meldi had been driven back by a storm and, unable to maintain their course, had returned to their point of departure. He found the rest
3 ready for sailing and fully equipped. Four thousand cavalry from the whole of Gaul and chiefs from all the
4 states had assembled there. A few of the latter, of whose loyalty he was convinced, he decided to leave in Gaul; the rest he had determined to take with him as hostages, because he feared a Gallic rising in his absence.

6 With the rest was the Aeduan Dumnorix, whom I have mentioned before. Caesar was especially determined to keep him in his company, because he had perceived that Dumnorix was eager for power and for a revolutionary movement, ambitious, and very influ-
2 ential with the Gauls. Besides, Dumnorix had declared in a council of the Aedui that Caesar was offering him the throne of his state, an assertion which annoyed the Aedui, though they did not dare to send envoys to Caesar to refuse or protest. Caesar had learnt this fact
3 from his guest-friends. Dumnorix at first desperately entreated to be left in Gaul, partly on the grounds that he was unused to sailing and feared the sea, partly because, as he said, he was hindered by religious
4 reasons. When he saw that his request was firmly refused, he lost all hope of obtaining it, and began to tamper with the Gallic chiefs, to take individuals aside and to urge them to stay on the Continent. He alarmed and intimidated them, saying that it was not without a reason that Gaul was being despoiled of all its
5 nobility: Caesar's intention was to take to Britain and there put to death those whom he was afraid to kill under the eyes of the Gauls. Dumnorix pledged his word to the rest, and asked them to swear to unite in

taking the measures which they understood to be in the interests of their country. These words were reported to Caesar by several persons.

After being weatherbound for twenty-five days Caesar orders the army to embark. While this is going on, Dumnorix secretly leaves the camp. He is pursued and killed.

Caesar used to give such marks of distinction to the 7
Aeduan state that on learning this he made up his
mind that it was time to coerce and deter Dumnorix by
all means in his power, and seeing that his madness was 2
going too far, to take measures against harm to himself
or Rome. He waited there about twenty-five days, 3
because he was hindered from sailing by the north-west
wind, which generally blows a large part of the year in
those districts. He took pains to keep Dumnorix loyal
while becoming acquainted with all his plans. At last 4
the weather came fair, and he ordered his legionaries
and cavalry to embark. Everybody's attention was 5
occupied, and Dumnorix with some Aeduan cavalry
began to make off homewards without Caesar's know-
ledge. The news was brought to Caesar. He post- 6
poned his departure, and, neglecting everything else, sent
a large part of his cavalry after Dumnorix, and ordered
him to be brought back. If he offered violence and 7
declined to obey, Caesar directed that he should be
killed, feeling that a man who had ignored him when
he was present would not behave sensibly in his absence.
Dumnorix, on being challenged, began to resist and 8
forcibly to defend himself, invoking his friends' pledge
and exclaiming repeatedly that he was a free citizen of a
free state. Caesar's men carried out their orders, sur- 9
rounded and killed him: the Aeduan knights returned
in a body to Caesar.

Caesar sails for Britain and disembarks his army at the former landing-place without opposition.

His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum tribus 8
legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto ut portus
tueretur et rem frumentariam provideret quaeque in

Gallia gererentur cognosceret consiliumque pro tempore
2 et pro re caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et pari numero equitum, quem in continenti reliquerat, ad solis occasum navis solvit et leni Africo provectus media circiter nocte vento intermisso cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus aestu orta luce sub sinistra Britanniam
3 relictam conspexit. Tum rursus aestus commutationem secutus remis contendit ut eam partem insulae caperet qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cogno-
4 verat. Qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis non intermisso remigandi labore longarum navium cursum adaequarunt.
5 Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano
6 fere tempore, neque in eo loco hostis est visus; sed, ut postea Caesar ex captivis cognovit, cum magnae manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritae, quae cum annotinis privatisque quas sui quisque commodi causa fecerat amplius octingentae uno erant visae tempore, a litore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

Caesar marches inland, defeats the enemy, and captures one of their strongholds.

9 Caesar, exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit quo in loco hostium copiae consedissent, cohortibus decem ad mare relictis et equitibus trecentis qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostis contendit, eo minus veritus navibus quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatas ad ancoram relinque-
2 bat, et praesidio navibus Q. Atrium praefecit. Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum circiter XII hostium
3 copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et
4 proelium committere coeperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregie et natura et

opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa iam ante praeparaverant; nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis 5
rari propugnabant nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimae, testudine 6
facta et aggere ad munitiones adiecto, locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientis longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et quod 7
loci naturam ignorabat et quod magna parte diei consumpta munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

Caesar is recalled to the coast by the news that the fleet has been seriously damaged by a storm. He makes arrangements for its repair, beaches all the ships, and connects them with the camp by a fortification. The Britons appoint Cassivellaunus commander-in-chief.

On the morning of the following day he dispatched a 10
light force of infantry in three detachments to pursue the routed enemy. They had advanced some distance, 2
and their rearguard was just in sight, when horsemen came from Q. Atrius to Caesar to tell him that a big storm had got up the night before and that nearly all his ships had been wrecked and driven on shore, because the ropes and anchors had not held and the sailors and pilots could not weather so violent a storm; conse- 3
quently great losses had been sustained from the resulting collision of ships.

On learning this Caesar ordered the legions and 11
cavalry to be recalled and to retreat fighting, while he returned to the ships. He saw on the spot very much 2
what he had been told by messengers and dispatches; it appeared, however, that though about forty ships had been lost, the remainder might with great difficulty be repaired. He therefore selected engineers from the 3
legions, ordered others to be fetched from the Continent, and wrote to Labienus to build as many ships as he 4
could with the legions under his command. Though 5
it was a laborious and toilsome business, he decided it

was best for all the ships to be drawn up on the beach and connected with the camp by a single fortification.
6 He spent about ten days in these operations, the soldiers
7 working without intermission even at night. After drawing up the ships and powerfully fortifying the camp, he left the same forces as before to guard them, and
8 returned to his starting-point. By the time he arrived, larger forces of Britons had gathered there from all sides; the supreme command and direction of the war was entrusted by common consent to Cassivellaunus, whose territory is divided from the tribes on the sea by the river called the Thames, about eighty miles from
9 the coast. In the past he had been continuously at war with the other states; but the Britons were frightened by our arrival, and had put him in charge of the whole command and campaign.

A description of Britain. The inhabitants of the country and its products.

12 Britanniae pars interior ab eis incolitur quos natos
2 in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab eis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant, qui omnes fere eis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello inlato ibi permanserunt atque agros colere coepe-
3 runt. Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque aedificia fere Gallicis consimilia, pecorum magnus
4 numerus. Utuntur aut aere aut nummo aureo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed eius exigua est copia;
5 aere utuntur importato. Materia cuiusque generis ut in
6 Gallia est, praeter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen
7 alunt animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

Position and size of the island.

The island is naturally a triangle, one of whose sides 13
faces Gaul. One angle of this side is in Kent, and
almost all ships from Gaul touch there; this faces the
east, the lower angle faces south. This side is almost
500 miles long. The second side inclines towards 2
Spain and the west; in this direction lies Ireland, an
island believed to be half the size of Britain; but the
crossing there is the same length as that from Gaul to
Britain. Half-way on this voyage lies the island of 3
Mona; besides this several smaller islands are believed
to lie off the coast, of which some authors have declared
that in winter they have thirty continuous days of dark-
ness. Our inquiries ascertained nothing on this point, 4
but by accurate water-clock measurements we saw that
the nights were shorter than on the Continent. The 5
length of this side, in the opinion of those authors, is 700 6
miles. The third side is towards the north and is faced
by no land; but a corner of it looks, if anything, towards
Germany. This side is reckoned to be 800 miles long.
So the whole island is 2,000 miles round. 7

Civilization.

Ex eis omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium 14
incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum
a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique 2
frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibus-
que sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, 3
quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores
sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt promisso atque
omni parte corporis rasa, praeter caput et labrum supe-
rius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se com- 4
munis, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum
liberis; sed qui sunt ex eis nati eorum habentur liberi 5
quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.

The Romans are attacked on the march and in front of the camp. The heavy-armed legionaries are embarrassed by the tactics of the enemy.

15 The hostile horse and charioteers fiercely engaged our cavalry on the march, with the result, however, that our men had the superiority in every direction and 2 drove them to the woods and hills; but after killing several they followed them too eagerly and lost some of 3 their own number. After an interval, while our men were off their guard and occupied in fortifying the camp, the Britons suddenly sallied out of the woods, charged the sentries placed in front of the camp, and attacked us 4 fiercely. Caesar sent in support two cohorts, the leading cohorts of their legions, which halted with a very small space between. Our men were alarmed by the new tactics, and the Britons with the greatest boldness broke 5 through the middle of them and retired safely. That day the military tribune, Q. Laberius Durus, was killed. More cohorts were sent up and the enemy was driven off.

16 The fighting took place in front of the camp under the eyes of all, and it became obvious that in this kind of warfare our men were not well fitted to meet an enemy of this type, on account of the weight of their arms. They could not pursue the enemy when retreating nor 2 did they dare to leave their own standards; while the cavalry were in great danger when fighting, for the Britons generally retreated deliberately, and when they had drawn our men a little way from the legions, jumped down from their chariots and fought on foot at an 3 advantage. Indeed, cavalry fighting exposed us to equal danger in retreat or pursuit.

4 Besides, the Britons never fought in massed formation, but in scattered groups with wide spaces between, and they had detachments arranged at intervals, which relieved each other in succession, fresh and unused troops taking the places of those who were tired.

Trebonius in command of the legions and all the cavalry gains a decisive victory.

17 The next day the enemy took up a position on the hills at a distance from the camp, and began to show

themselves here and there, and to make less vigorous attacks on our cavalry than on the day before. At mid- 2
day, however, when Caesar had sent out three legions and all his cavalry under the legate C. Trebonius to forage, they suddenly swooped on the foragers from every quarter, and even attacked the standards and legions. Our men charged them fiercely, drove them 3
back, and did not cease to pursue them till the cavalry, seeing the legions behind them and relying on their support, chased the enemy headlong, killed a large 4
number, and gave them no chance to rally, take up a position, or jump down from their chariots. After this 5
rout the reinforcements which had assembled from all quarters immediately melted away, and from that day the enemy never engaged us with their full force.

Caesar crosses the Thames. Cassivellaunus, seeing that he cannot win in a pitched battle, confines himself to harassing the Romans on the march. The Trinobantes submit and supply Caesar with corn.

Caesar, cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamesim 18
in finis Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, animum advertit ad alteram fluminis 2
ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas. Ripa 3
autem erat acutis sudibus praefixisque munita, eiusdemque generis sub aqua defixae sudes flumine tegebantur. Eis rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque, Caesar prae- 4
misso equitatu confestim legiones subsequi iussit. Sed 5
ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt, cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni de- 19
posita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat locisque

impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat, atque eis regionibus quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat pecora
2 atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat et, cum equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros eiecerat, omnibus viis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum eis confligebat atque hoc metu latius vagari pro-
3 hibebat. Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

20 Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubracius adulescens Caesaris fidem secutus ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat, cuius pater in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque sese ei
2 dedituros atque imperata facturos: petunt ut Mandubracium ab iniuria Cassivellauni defendat atque in
3 civitatem mittat qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. Eis Caesar imperat obsides XL frumentumque exercitui,
4 Mandubraciumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt.

Capture of the stronghold of Cassivellaunus. By his orders the four kings of Kent attack the camp and ships. When the attempt fails, Cassivellaunus submits.

21 After Caesar had taken the Trinobantes under his protection and secured them from any injury at the hands of his men, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi sent embassies and submitted to
2 Caesar. He heard from them that not far away, protected by woods and marshes, was the 'town' of Cassivellaunus, where a considerable number of men and
3 cattle were collected. The Britons call it a town, when

they have fortified tangled woodland with a rampart and ditch, making a place where they are in the habit of retiring to avoid a hostile attack. Caesar set out for the 4
spot with his legions: he found it admirably fortified by nature and by art; none the less he proceeded to attack it on two sides. The enemy waited a little, but failed to 5
support our men's assault, and evacuated the town on another side. A large quantity of cattle were found 6
there, and many natives were captured and killed as they fled.

Meanwhile, Cassivellaunus sent messages to Kent, 22
which, as I have already mentioned, is a district on the sea, ruled by four kings, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segovax; he ordered them to collect all their forces and suddenly attack and storm the naval dépôt. When they 2
arrived before the camp, our men sallied out, killed many of them, and captured besides Lugotorix, a chief of noble birth; they then withdrew in safety. When 3
the news of this battle reached Cassivellaunus, the great losses he had sustained, the devastation of his land, and above all the desertion of the tribes induced him to send envoys to Caesar by means of the Atrebatian Commius to treat for submission. Caesar had determined to 4
winter on the Continent on account of the danger of sudden Gallic risings; little of the summer was left, and he realized that the war might easily be prolonged. He therefore ordered the surrender of hostages, fixed the yearly tribute to be paid to Rome by the Britons, and 5
strictly forbade Cassivellaunus to injure Mandubracius or the Trinobantes.

Caesar returns to Gaul.

When the hostages had been surrendered he with- 23
drew his army to the sea, where he found his ships repaired. He launched them, and decided to convey the 2
army back to France in two journeys, for he had a large number of prisoners and some of his ships had been lost in the storm. It so happened that of his large number 3
of ships, in all their voyages, not one which carried soldiers, in this or in the preceding year, was lost. It 4
was otherwise with those which were returning to him

empty from the Continent, after landing troops on the first journey, and with those which Labienus had subsequently had built to the number of sixty; of these only very few reached their destination, and almost all the
5 rest were driven back. Caesar waited some time for them in vain, and wishing not to be prevented from sailing by the season—the equinox was at hand—he was
6 obliged to pack his men rather closely. A deep calm followed; he weighed anchor a little after 9 p.m., reached France at early dawn, and brought all his ships safe to port.

Caesar's distribution of the legions for the winter. They are stationed over a wide area in Gaul on account of the shortness of supplies.

24 The ships had been drawn up and a council of the Gauls held at Samarobriva. That year there had been a poor harvest in Gaul owing to drought, and Caesar was obliged to arrange his army in their quarters on a different system from former years, and to distribute
2 the legions over more tribes. One of them he allotted to the Morini district under the legate C. Fabius, one to the Nervii under Q. Cicero, a third to the Esuvii under L. Roscius, a fourth under T. Labienus he ordered to
3 winter among the Remi on the edge of the Treveri, three he placed in Belgium under the command of the quaestor M. Crassus and the legates L. Munatius Plancus and
4 C. Trebonius. He sent one legion, which he had recently recruited in North Italy, with five cohorts to the Eburones, most of whom live between the Rhine and the Moselle; they were under the rule of Ambiorix
5 and Catuvolcus. He entrusted these troops to the command of the legates Q. Titurius Sabinus and
6 L. Aurunculeius Cotta. By this method of distributing the legions he thought he could best meet the scarcity
7 of corn. The quarters, however, of all the troops were within a range of 100 miles, excepting the legion he had entrusted to L. Roscius to conduct into the quietest
8 and most completely pacified district. Caesar himself decided to stay in Gaul till he knew that the legions had taken up their positions and fortified their camps.

Outbreaks in Gaul. Tasgetius, whom Caesar had made king of the Carnutes, is assassinated. Ambiorix and Catuvolcus, kings of the Eburones, make an unsuccessful attack on the camp of Titurius and Cotta.

Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cuius 25
maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic 2
Caesar pro eius virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod
in omnibus bellis singulari eius opera fuerat usus,
maiorum locum restituerat. Tertium iam hunc annum 3
regnantem inimici palam multis ex civitate auctoribus
interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem. Ille veri- 4
tus, quod ad pluris pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu
deficeret, L. Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter
in Carnutes proficisci iubet ibique hiemare, quorumque
opera cognoverat Tasgetium interfectum, hos compre-
hensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis 5
quaestoribusque quibus legiones tradiderat certior factus
est in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse muni-
tum.

Diebus circiter quindecim quibus in hiberna ventum 26
est initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est
ab Ambiorige et Catuvolco; qui, cum ad finis regni sui 2
Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque in
hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis
impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque oppressis lignato-
ribus magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt.
Cum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque ascendis- 3
sent atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis
equestri proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re hostes
suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more con- 4
clamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodiret:
habere sese quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus
rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

Ambiorix meets the Roman delegates in conference. He asserts that he is really a friend of the Romans, urges Titurius to retire with his force to the camp of Cicero or of Labienus, and promises that it shall not be molested.

27 C. Arpineius, a Roman knight and friend of Q. Titurius, and a Spaniard, Q. Junius, who had previously been accustomed to go on missions from Caesar to Ambiorix, were sent to confer with them. Ambiorix
2 spoke before the envoys as follows: 'I admit that I owe Caesar much for his kindness to me; it was by his help that I was released from the tribute which I used to pay to my neighbours, the Aduatuci, and Caesar restored to me my son and my nephew, who had been sent as hostages to the Aduatuci and were kept by them
3 enslaved and in chains. I acted as I did in attacking the camp not of my own judgement or wish, but under compulsion from my tribe, and our government is such that the masses have no less power over me than I over
4 them. Further, my tribe's reason for war was, that it was unable to resist the sudden conspiracy of the Gauls. Our own insignificance is sufficient easily to prove this, for I am not so inexperienced as to believe that our
5 forces can overcome Rome. But Gaul has a common plan; this day was fixed for attacking all Caesar's winter quarters, in order that no legion might be able
6 to come to another's help. It was not easy for Gauls to say "No" to Gauls, especially when the plot was clearly
7 undertaken to recover the liberty of the nation. I have satisfied these claims as patriotism demanded; I am now thinking of the duty I owe to Caesar for his services, and I warn and implore Titurius, as our friendship requires, to think of his own and his soldiers' lives.
8 A big mercenary force of Germans has crossed the
9 Rhine, and will be here in two days. It is for your generals to decide whether you wish, before the neighbouring tribes perceive it, to lead your men out of their quarters and withdraw them either to Cicero's camp or to that of Labienus, one about fifty miles away,
10 the other rather more. I promise, and confirm my promise by an oath, to give you a safe passage through
11 my borders. In doing this, I shall be serving my state

by relieving it of the presence of the camp, and I shall be repaying Caesar for his services.' After making this speech Ambiorix retired.

A council of war is summoned. Cotta and many of the highest officers declare that the camp can be defended and that it is their duty to stay where they are.

Arpineius and Junius reported to the legates what 28
they had heard. These were upset by the suddenness
of the event and, though the proposals came from an
enemy, thought that they should not be ignored; and
they were particularly moved by the consideration that
it was hardly credible that the obscure and insignificant
tribe of the Eburones had dared on its own account to
make war on Rome. They therefore brought the matter 2
before a council of war, where a great dispute arose
between them. Cotta and several military tribunes and 3
the principal centurions considered that no rash measures
should be taken, and that the camp should not be aban-
doned without orders from Caesar. They maintained 4
that any force, even of Germans, however big, could be
resisted in a fortified camp. 'This is proved,' they said, 5
'by the fact that we repulsed the first attack of the enemy
with the greatest gallantry, and actually inflicted much
damage on them. We are not hard pressed for
food. Meanwhile, support will come both from the 6
nearest winter quarters and from Caesar. Finally, what 7
could be more unworthy or discreditable than to decide
the most important issues on an enemy's advice?'

Titurius declares that it is their only chance to escape as soon as possible from their present position. It is clear, he says, that Caesar has gone to Italy, that Gaul is in a ferment, and that the Germans may be on them immediately. Finally, he appeals to the soldiers who are in earshot.

Contra ea Titurius sero facturos clamitabat, cum 29
maiores manus hostium adiunctis Germanis convenis-
sent aut cum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis
esset acceptum. Brevem consulendi esse occasionem. 2

Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgeti consilium fuisse capturos neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta contemptione
3 nostri ad castra venturos esse. Non hostem auctorem sed rem spectare; subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras
4 victorias; ardere Galliam tot contumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei
5 militaris exstincta. Postremo quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa re Ambiorigem ad eiusmodi consilium de-
6 scendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: si nihil esset durius, nullo cum periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros: si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiret, unam esse in celeritate positam
7 salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum qui dissentirent consilium quem haberet exitum, in quo si praesens periculum non, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda?

30 Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, 'Vincite,' inquit, 'si ita vultis,' Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut
2 magna pars militum exaudiret: 'neque is sum,' inquit, 'qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: hi sapient; si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem
3 reposcent qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, non reiecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.'

At last Titurius has his way. Orders are given for a start at daybreak.

31 The council rose. Officers took the two legates by the hand, and begged them not to bring the army into the most serious danger by their disagreement and
2 obstinacy: 'Matters will be easy,' they said, 'whether

we remain or leave, if only every one feels and thinks alike; but if you quarrel, we see no hope of safety.' The dispute lasted till midnight. Finally, Cotta was 3 overborne and gave way; the view of Titurius carried the day and it was announced that they would start at 4 dawn. The rest of the night was spent in wakefulness, each soldier looking over his possessions, to see what he could carry with him and what part of the camp equipment he was compelled to leave behind. Every 5 measure was devised both to make it impossible to stay without danger, and to increase the peril by the fatigued and sleepless condition of the soldiers. At early dawn 6 they started, in a very long column of march and with a quantity of baggage, like men who had taken advice given them not by an enemy but by a close friend.

The Romans are attacked on their march through a defile. Notwithstanding Cotta's courage and resource they cannot extricate themselves.

When the noises of the night and the wakefulness of 32 the camp revealed their departure, the enemy set a double ambush at a convenient and secluded spot in the forest two miles away, and waited for the arrival of the Romans. The main part of the column had descended 2 into a big valley, when the Gauls suddenly showed themselves on both sides of the defile, attacked the rear-guard, prevented the advance guard from ascending, and proceeded to engage on ground where our men were at a severe disadvantage.

Then at last Titurius, having anticipated nothing, 33 became alarmed, hurried up and down, and marshalled his cohorts; but even this he did in a nervous manner, like a man at the end of his resources—the usual way with those who are obliged to make their plans in the moment of action. Cotta, on the other hand, who had 2 realized that this might happen on the march and had therefore been opposed to the departure, left nothing undone to save the army, but did the work of a general in addressing and encouraging his men, and that of a soldier in the actual fighting. On account of the length 3 of the column the generals were not easily able to see

in person to everything or to arrange for the measures to be taken at each point; they therefore ordered it to be proclaimed that the army should abandon its baggage
4 and form a square. The decision cannot be blamed in
5 a disaster of this kind, but it turned out awkwardly, for it weakened our men's confidence and emboldened the enemy in their attack, since it was clear that these measures were only undertaken as a result of the
6 greatest alarm and despair. Besides, it inevitably happened that most of the soldiers left their ranks and hastened to fetch and remove their most valued possessions among the baggage; everywhere were shouting and lamentation.

The Romans fight bravely for a great part of the day, but they are finally worn out by an enemy that harasses them continuously without coming to close quarters.

34 At barbaris consilium non defuit. Nam duces eorum tota acie pronuntiare iusserunt, ne quis ab loco discederet, illorum esse praedam atque illis reservari quaecumque Romani reliquissent: proinde omnia in victoria
2 posita existimarent. Nostri, tametsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quotiens quaeque cohors procurrerat, ab
3 ea parte magnus numerus hostium cadebat. Qua re animadversa, Ambiorix pronuntiari iubet ut procul tela coiciant neu propius accedant et quam in partem Romani
4 impetum fecerint cedant: levitate armorum et cotidiana exercitatione nihil his noceri posse: rursus se ad signa recipientis insequantur.

35 Quo praecepto ab eis diligentissime observato, cum quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum
2 fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela
3 recipi. Rursus cum in eum locum unde erant egressi reverti coeperant, et ab eis qui cesserant et ab eis qui
4 proximi steterant circumveniebantur. Sin autem locum

tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur neque ab tanta multitudine coiecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis resistebant et magna parte diei consumpta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil quod ipsis esset indignum committebant. Tum T. Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula traicitur; Q. Lucanius eiusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur; L. Cotta legatus omnis cohortis ordinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

Titurius makes a proposal to surrender with his troops on condition that their lives are spared. Accompanied by some high officers, he meets Ambiorix in conference and is treacherously slain. The Romans are driven back to the camp, where most of them kill themselves. A few stragglers reach Labienus.

36 This disturbed Titurius, and seeing Ambiorix in the distance encouraging his men, he dispatched his interpreter, Gn. Pompeius, with a request for mercy for himself and his men. Ambiorix replied to this appeal: 2 'If you wish for a conference with me, you may have it. I hope that, as far as the safety of your men is concerned, your request may be granted by our people; you yourself shall certainly not be injured, and to this I pledge my word.' Titurius consulted the wounded Cotta, 3 whether he was in favour of their withdrawing from the fight and conferring with Ambiorix, saying that he hoped that the Gauls might grant the lives of themselves and their men. Cotta refused to go before an 4 armed enemy, and persevered in his view.

37 Titurius ordered the military tribunes and leading centurions whom he had with him at the moment to follow him; on approaching Ambiorix he was directed to throw away his arms; he obeyed and ordered his men to follow his example. While they were discussing 2 terms, and Ambiorix was purposely making a long speech, Titurius was gradually surrounded and killed.

3 Then after their fashion the Gauls shouted 'Victory!'
4 yelled, and, charging our men, broke their ranks. L. Cotta and most of his men were killed on the spot fighting. The remainder retreated to the camp from which they
5 had started. One of them, L. Petrosidius, a standard-bearer, finding himself attacked by masses of the enemy, threw the eagle inside the rampart, and himself fell in
6 front of the camp fighting bravely. Our troops with difficulty sustained the attack till nightfall, and during the night, despairing of safety, destroyed themselves to
7 a man. A few who had escaped from the battle made their way by tracks through the forests to the winter camp of the legate T. Labienus, and informed him of what had happened.

Ambiorix and the Eburones, joined by the Aduatuci and Nervii, attack Cicero's camp. The legion makes a gallant defence.

38 Elated by this victory, Ambiorix with the cavalry started at once for his neighbours, the Aduatuci, marching night and day; he ordered his infantry to follow.
2 He explained the situation, and roused the Aduatuci; the next day he arrived among the Nervii, and urged them not to lose the opportunity of making themselves free for ever and punishing the Romans for the wrongs they
3 had sustained. 'Two legates,' he said, 'have fallen,
4 and a great part of the army has been destroyed. There is no difficulty in suddenly overwhelming and annihilating the legion in winter quarters with Cicero, and I offer my help for this purpose.' The Nervii were easily persuaded by his speech.

39 So, hastily dispatching messengers to the Ceutrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumoxii, and Geidumni, who are all subject to them, the Nervii mustered as big forces as they could, and made a sudden swoop on the camp of Cicero, before the report of Sabinus's death had reached
2 him. With him, too, it inevitably happened that some soldiers, who had gone into the forest to fetch wood and materials for fortifications, were cut off by the sudden
3 appearance of the hostile cavalry. After surrounding these, a large body of Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci, and their allies and dependants proceeded to attack the

legion. Our men quickly ran to arms and mounted the rampart. They held out that day with difficulty, for the 4
enemy's hopes rested on rapid action, and they were confident that if they won this battle it would be a victory without a morrow.

Cicero tries vainly to communicate with Caesar, and does everything possible to strengthen the camp against repeated attacks.

Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim ab Cicerone litterae, 40
magnis propositis praemiis, si pertulissent: obsessis omnibus viis missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex materia 2
quam munitionis causa comportaverant turres admodum centum xx excitantur incredibili celeritate; quae deesse operi videbantur perficiuntur. Hostes postero die multo 3
maioribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Eadem ratione, qua pridie, ab nostris resistitur. Hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus. Nulla pars 4, 5
nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur; non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis datur. Quaecumque ad 6
proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt noctu comparantur: multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur; turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, cum tenuis- 7
sima valetudine esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

The chieftains of the Nervii offer to allow Cicero to withdraw without molestation. He refuses to discuss terms with an armed enemy.

Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum qui aliquem 41
sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate 2
eadem quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat commemorant: 3
omnem esse in armis Galliam; Germanos Rhenum transisse; Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari. 4

Addunt etiam de Sabini morte; Ambiorigem ostentant
5 fidei faciendae causa. Errare eos dicunt, si quicquam
ab eis praesidi sperent qui suis rebus diffidant; sese
tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum
animo ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc invete-
6 rascere consuetudinem nolint: licere illis incolumibus
per se ex hibernis discedere et quascumque in partis
7 velint sine metu proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo
respondit: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani
8 accipere ab hoste armato condicionem: si ab armis
discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad
Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia quae petie-
rint impetraturos.

The Nervii blockade the camp by a continuous line of entrenchments and prepare various engines for attacking it, being instructed by Roman prisoners.

42 Disappointed in this hope, the Nervii surrounded the
camp with a rampart nine feet high and a trench fifteen
2 feet deep. They had learnt the art from us in the inter-
course of previous years, and had taken some prisoners
3 from the army, who instructed them. But they had no
supply of entrenching tools suitable for the purpose, and
were compelled to cut the turf with their swords and
4 remove the earth in their hands and cloaks. Their
numbers can be realized from the following fact: in less
than three hours they completed a fortification three
5 miles in circumference. The following day they began
to prepare and make grappling-hooks, sheds, and towers
corresponding to the height of our rampart; they had
learnt this from the aforementioned prisoners.

The Gauls succeed in setting fire to the huts in the camp. While the huts are still burning, they make a vigorous assault, which is repelled with great courage.

43 On the seventh day of the siege a high wind got up,
and the enemy began to throw burning javelins and red-
hot bullets of molten clay out of slings on to the canton-

ments, which were thatched in Gallic fashion. These 2
quickly caught fire, and the high wind spread the flames
to all quarters of the camp. As if the victory was 3
already assured and won, the enemy with loud cries
began to bring up towers and sheds and to scale the
rampart with ladders. But such was the courage and 4
presence of mind of our men that, though scorched by
the flames everywhere, assailed by showers of darts, and
well aware that all their baggage and all their possessions
were burning, not a man abandoned his post on the
rampart and hardly one even looked back ; in that hour
all fought with the greatest spirit and courage. This 5
was far the most serious day for our troops ; yet it ended
in a very large number of the enemy being killed and
wounded ; they had packed themselves right under the
rampart, and the rear ranks did not allow the front to
retreat. When the fire had somewhat died down in a 6
spot where a tower had been advanced so as to touch
the rampart, the centurions of the third cohort retired
from their position and, withdrawing their men, pro-
ceeded to invite the enemy by sign and word to enter if
they wished : not one of them dared to advance. Then 7
they were driven off by a hail of stones from every
quarter, and their tower was burnt.

A tale of extraordinary valour exhibited by the rival centurions, Pullo and Vorenus.

Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui 44
primis ordinibus appropinquarent, T. Pullo et L. Vore-
nus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias habebant, 2
quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de locis summis
simultatibus contendebant. Ex his Pullo, cum acerrime 3
ad munitiones pugnaretur, 'Quid dubitas,' inquit,
'Vorene? aut quem locum tuae probandae virtutis
spectas? hic dies de nostris controversiis iudicabit.'
Haec cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quaeque 4
pars hostium confertissima est visa irrumpit. Ne Vore- 5
nus quidem sese vallo continet sed omnium veritus
existimationem subsequitur. Tum mediocri spatio 6

relicto Pullo pilum in hostis immittit, atque unum ex multitudine procurrentem traicit; quo percusso et exanimato, hunc scutis protegunt, in hostem tela uni-
7 versi coiciunt neque dant regrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulloni et verutum in balteo defigitur.
8 Avertit hic casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur manum, impeditumque hostes circum-
9 sistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Vorenus et laboranti
10 subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim a Pullone omnis mul-
11 titudo convertit; illum veruto arbitrantur occisum. Gladio comminus rem gerit Vorenus, atque uno interfecto reliquos paulum propellit: dum cupidius instat, in
12 locum deiectus inferiorem concidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pullo, atque ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa cum laude sese intra
13 munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit, ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset neque diiudicari posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

After many failures Cicero at last succeeds in getting a letter taken safely to Caesar, who does not lose a moment in marching to the rescue. His force consists of two legions and four hundred cavalry.

45 Day by day the siege grew more severe and savage; a large number of the soldiers were enfeebled by wounds, and the defenders were reduced to a few; and more and more frequent were the letters and messengers sent to Caesar. Some of the latter were caught and put
2 to death with tortures under the eyes of our men. Inside the camp there was one Nervian called Vertico, a man of good birth, who had fled to Cicero at the beginning of
3 the siege and had shown himself loyal. By the promise of liberty and big rewards he persuaded a slave to convey
4 a letter to Caesar. The slave carried it tied inside a javelin, and moving without suspicion among his fellow-
5 countrymen, reached Caesar, who learnt from him of the danger in which Cicero and the legion stood.

Caesar received the letter between three and four o'clock 46
in the afternoon, and at once dispatched a messenger to
the quaestor M. Crassus, whose winter quarters were
twenty-five miles away among the Bellovaci, ordering 2
the legion to start at midnight and join Caesar quickly.
Crassus started on the messenger's arrival. Caesar sent 3
another messenger to tell the legate C. Fabius to bring
his legion to the Atrebatian country, through which he
knew he himself would have to march. He wrote to 4
Labienus to come to the Nervian district with his
legion if he could do so without danger to the cause.
He thought it better not to wait for the rest of the army, 5
as it was some distance away. He collected about 400
cavalry from the nearest winter quarters.

About 9 a.m. the advance guard told him of the 47
coming of Crassus, and on that day he marched twenty
miles. He put Crassus in command at Samarobriva, 2
and gave him a legion, for he was leaving there the
army's baggage, the hostages of the tribes, state docu-
ments, and all the corn he had conveyed there in order
to support his army for the winter. Fabius, according 3
to his orders, wasted little time and met him *en route*
with a legion. Labienus had learnt of the death of 4
Sabinus and the massacre of his cohorts; the whole
forces of the Treveri had moved against him; and he
was afraid that, if he made a march out of his quarters
which looked like a retreat, he could not sustain the
enemy's attack, especially as they were, to his know-
ledge, elated by their recent victory. He therefore sent
a dispatch to Caesar saying how dangerous it would be
for him to lead the legion out of its winter camp,
describing what had happened among the Eburones, 5
and informing him that the whole infantry and cavalry
forces of the Treveri had taken up a position three miles
away from his camp.

Caesar sends a letter to Cicero, telling him that he is on the march to relieve the camp. It does not, however, reach him till Caesar is very near.

Caesar, consilio eius probato, etsi opinione trium 48
legionum deiectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum com-

munis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum finis. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit quae apud Ciceronem gerantur quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. Si adire non possit, monet ut tragulum cum epistola ad ammentum deligata intra munitionem castrorum abiciat. In litteris scribit se cum legionibus profectum celeriter adfore; hortatur ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostris biduo animadversa tertio die a quodam milite conspicitur, dempta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat, maximaque omnis laetitia adficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quae res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

The Gauls raise the siege and march to meet Caesar. He encamps in a strong position and makes the enemy believe that he is afraid to come out and meet them.

49 Their scouts told the Gauls what was happening and they abandoned the siege and marched against Caesar with all their forces, which amounted to 60,000 armed men. Cicero seized the opportunity and again asked Vertico, whom I have mentioned above, for a man to carry a letter to Caesar. He warned him to go cautiously and carefully, stating in the letter that the enemy had left him and had directed their whole numbers against the relieving force. This letter reached Caesar about midnight, and he informed his men, and put them in heart for a battle. The next day he moved camp at dawn, and after advancing about four miles caught sight of large numbers of the enemy on the other side of a river valley. It was very dangerous to fight on unfavourable ground with such small forces;

and, knowing that the siege of Cicero's camp had been raised, he thought that he could reduce his speed without anxiety. He halted and fortified a camp on the 7
most favourable ground he could find. It was small in itself, being for a force of barely 7,000 men, and these without baggage, but he reduced its size as far as possible by narrowing its streets, with the view of making himself utterly contemptible to the enemy. Meanwhile, 8
dispatching scouts in every direction, he reconnoitred the most convenient way for crossing the valley.

That day small cavalry encounters took place by the 50
river, but both armies kept to their positions; the Gauls 2
were waiting for larger forces, which had not yet assembled, while Caesar hoped, by pretending to be 3
afraid, to entice the enemy on to his own ground, where he could fight on his side of the valley and in front of the camp. If he was unable to do this, his idea was to cross the valley and the river with less danger after he had reconnoitred the tracks. At dawn the hostile 4
cavalry approached the camp and engaged our horse. Caesar purposely told the cavalry to retire and with- 5
draw inside the camp, directing at the same time that it should be fortified on all sides with a higher rampart, that its gates should be barricaded, and that in carrying this out there should be an appearance of panic and as much hurry as possible.

The Gauls attack the camp and are routed. Caesar at once joins Cicero and compliments him, his officers, and his men on their gallant defence.

Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias traducunt 51
aciemque iniquo loco constituunt, nostris vero etiam de vallo deductis propius accedunt et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus coiciunt, praeconibusque circum- 2
missis pronuntiari iubent, seu quis Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere: post id tempus non fore potestatem; ac sic 3
nostros contempserunt, ut obstructis in speciem portis singulis ordinibus caespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere, alii

4 fossas complere inciperent. Tum Caesar omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso celeriter hostis in fugam dat, sic uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo, magnumque ex eis numerum occidit atque omnis armis exuit.

52 Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque intercedebant neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolumibus copiis
2 eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turris, testudines, munitionesque hostium admiratur. Legione producta, cognoscit non decimum quemque esse reli-
3 quum militem sine vulnere. Ex eis omnibus iudicat rebus quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint
4 administratae. Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque collaudat; centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius
5 ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die contione habita rem
6 gestam proponit; milites consolatur et confirmat; quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc aequiore animo ferendum docet, quod beneficio deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo neque hostibus diutina laetatio neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

Caesar's victory causes Indutiomarus and the Treveri to abandon their design of attacking Labienus, but intrigues continue over almost all Gaul, and Caesar passes the winter in constant anxiety.

53 Meanwhile the report of Caesar's success was carried by the Remi to Labienus with such incredible speed, that though Cicero's camp was about 60 miles away, and though Caesar had arrived there after two o'clock in the afternoon, a shout was raised before midnight at the gates of the camp, which brought Labienus the news of
2 the victory and the congratulations of the Remi. The

report spread to the Treveri, and Indutiomarus, who had decided to attack the camp of Labienus on the following day, fled by night and led all his forces back to the Treveri. Caesar sent Fabius with his legion back 3
to his camp; he himself determined to winter near Samarobriva with three legions in separate camps, and in view of the serious risings that had broken out in Gaul to stay in person with the army throughout the winter. The news of the disaster and of Titurius's death 4
had spread widely, and almost all the Gallic tribes were discussing war, sending envoys everywhere, seeing what measures the others were adopting, and how the war could be started, and holding councils by night in lonely spots. Hardly a moment of that whole winter passed 5
without anxiety to Caesar, or without his receiving news of Gallic plots and unrest. Among these reports came 6
information from the quaestor L. Roscius, whom he had put in command of the thirteenth legion, that large forces of the tribes called Aremorican had assembled to attack 7
him, and had come within eight miles of his quarters, but that on the news of Caesar's victory they had departed so rapidly that their departure seemed like a flight.

The Senones attempt to kill their king, Cavarinus, and defy the authority of Caesar. With the exception of the Aedui and the Remi there is hardly a state that Caesar can trust.

At Caesar, principibus cuiusque civitatis ad se evoca- 54
tis, alias territando, cum se scire quae fierent denuntiaret, alias cohortando magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas in primis firma 2
et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud eos regem constituerat, cuius frater Moritasgus adventu in Galliam Caesaris cuiusque maiores regnum obtinuerant, interficere publico consilio conati, cum ille praesensisset ac profugisset, usque ad finis insecuti regno domoque expulerunt et, missis ad Cae- 3
sarem satisfaciendi causa legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum venire iussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt.

4 Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit esse aliquos repertos principes inferendi belli tantamque omnibus voluntatum commutationem attulit, ut praeter Aeduos et Remos, quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere
5 civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud scio mirandumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime quod ei qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur tantum se eius opinionis deperdidisse ut a populo Romano imperia perferrent gravissime dolebant.

Indutiomarus plans a great insurrection. He fails to induce the Germans to join him, but gets promises of support from many quarters in Gaul. Consequently he summons an 'armed council', and declares that he will begin by attacking the camp of Labienus, which he at once besets.

55 Through the whole winter the Treveri and Indutiomarus were sending envoys across the Rhine, tampering with other tribes, promising money, and saying that a large part of our army had been destroyed and that
2 only a fraction was left. And yet not a single German people could be persuaded to cross the Rhine, for they said that they had tried it twice, once in the war with Ariovistus, once when the Tencteri crossed, nor would
3 they venture their fortune again. Disappointed in these expectations, Indutiomarus none the less began to collect and train a force, to get horses from his neighbours, and to attract to his standard by big rewards exiles and
4 condemned criminals from the whole of Gaul. Such influence had he acquired in Gaul by these acts that embassies came to him from all over the country, and privately and in the name of their states courted his favour and friendship.

56 When he saw that people were joining him of their own accord, that the Senones and Carnutes on one hand were incited by the consciousness of guilt, that on the other the Nervii and Aduatuci were preparing for a war with Rome, and that he would have no lack of volun-

teers if he once advanced out of his country, he pro-
claimed an Armed Council. That is how the Gauls 2
commence a war. By a universal law all adults are
compelled to assemble under arms, and the last comer
is put to death with every kind of torture under the eyes
of the gathering. In this council Indutiomarus pro- 3
claimed Cingetorix an enemy and confiscated his
property; Cingetorix was the leader of the opposite
faction and the son-in-law of Indutiomarus. As I said
before, he had attached himself to Caesar and remained
loyal to him. After settling this, Indutiomarus announced 4
to the council that he had been called in by the Senones,
Carnutes, and several other Gallic states; that he pro- 5
posed to march to them through the Remi country, to
ravage the lands of the latter, and, before doing this, to
attack the camp of Labienus. He issued instructions
as to his wishes.

Labienus, who occupied a camp strongly fortified by 57
nature and by man, had no fear of danger for himself
and his legion, and planned to lose no opportunity of
achieving a success. When Cingetorix and his sup- 2
porters informed him of the speech which Indutiomarus
had made in the council, he dispatched messengers to
the neighbouring states and called up horsemen from
every quarter, fixing a day for their assembly. Mean- 3
while, Indutiomarus with all his cavalry roamed almost
daily close to his camp, sometimes to reconnoitre its
position, sometimes to hold conversations with the
Romans and intimidate them. Generally the cavalry
all used to throw javelins over the rampart. Labienus 4
kept his men inside the fortifications, and encouraged in
any way he could the idea that he was afraid.

Labienus introduces cavalry into his camp without the knowledge of the Treveri and sends it to attack them late in the day, when they are withdrawing for the night. Indutiomarus is overtaken and killed as he is crossing a river.

Cum maiore in dies contemptione Indutiomarus ad 58
castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus omnium
finitimarum civitatum quos accersendos curaverat, tanta

diligentia omnis suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enuntiari aut ad Treveros perferri
2 posset. Interim ex consuetudine cotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela coiciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum
3 nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac
4 dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, proterritis hostibus atque in fugam coiectis (quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat) unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum, neu quis quem prius vulneret quam illum interfectum viderit, quod mora reliquorum spatium nactum
5 illum effugere nolebat; magna proponit eis qui occiderint praemia; summittit cohortis equitibus subsidio.
6 Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna et, cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque eius refertur in castra; redeuntes equites quos possunt consectantur
7 atque occidunt. Hac re cognita, omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum quae convenerant copiae discedunt, pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam.

NOTES

BOOK IV

FROM what port did Caesar sail for Britain in this and the following year? That is one of the most debated questions in ancient geography, nor even now can we speak certainly on the point. What does Caesar actually tell us? He does not give the name of his port of departure in his first invasion: he simply says that he sailed from somewhere in the Morini country, whence was the shortest crossing to Britain (21. 3); that his cavalry sailed from a port eight miles away (22. 4), which he calls *superior* (28. 1) and *ulterior* (23. 1), that is, farther north—*ulterior* meaning beyond the place whence one starts, the ultimate point of departure being Rome. When he describes his second invasion in Book V, he says that his whole army sailed from Portus Itius, a distance of thirty miles from Britain. We cannot even be sure whether he sailed from here in the previous year, but it would be natural to suppose that he did.

Where, then, is Portus Itius? It is generally placed at Boulogne or Wissant: in the first case the *ulterior portus* will be Ambleteuse, in the second Sangatte or Calais. But Wissant is an open, sandy beach, and it is difficult to see how Caesar could have said of it that 'the most convenient crossing to Britain was from there' (v. 2. 3), or how it could have held the fleet of more than 800 ships with which he sailed in 54 B.C. Boulogne is to be preferred, as it has a big estuary harbour and was the regular port for Britain in imperial times. It was thirty-two Roman miles from Britain, Wissant is twenty-four. One difficulty in this view is that in later literature the port is always called Gesoriacum; we hear no more of a Portus Itius. Perhaps an analogy to this may be found in the way in which most Englishmen speak only of Durban, forgetting that its port is called Port Natal (see Genner, *Classical Review*, May 1918). Note how little trouble Roman historians—even Caesar—take to make geographical details clear. One cause, no doubt, was the absence of maps, without which names of unknown places mean little to readers.

20. This chapter shows some of the incidental difficulties of invading Britain, and gives Caesar's motive in attempting it. Suetonius (*Vit. Iul.* 47) says that he was attracted by the British pearls, and has a story of his weighing them in his hand.

4. It is hard to suppose that the traders could not have given him the information he asked. If they were Gauls, they would have been unwilling that Britain should be opened up to rival Roman merchants.

21. 4. The Veneti (in Brittany) had been defeated the previous year.

7. Note Caesar's methods of controlling conquered tribes (see also 22. 2).

Commius joined the rising of Vercingetorix in 52 B.C.: hence, perhaps, the word 'thought'.

22. 1. large section. This passage illustrates that disunion of the Gauls which was their greatest weakness.

3–4. Note (*a*) the size of Caesar's force; (*b*) the number of the transports required.

quaestor, legates, &c. See Introd., p. 16.

23. The place where Caesar landed, like the harbour from which he started, cannot be fixed with certainty, but there is sufficient evidence to guide us to a probable conclusion. He sailed on August 26. He reached Britain, as he tells us, with his galleys at 8.30 a.m., or soon after, and lay at anchor opposite cliffs which must have been those at or near Dover, waiting for the transports till their arrival at 3.30 p.m. If he started again at once, the tidal stream had still two hours to run west and, sailing with it before the wind, he may have come to the level shore at Hythe or Romney Marsh 'seven miles away'. Consideration of distance prevents us from supposing that he rounded Dungeness and landed at Pevensey as has been suggested. There are two objections to Hythe or Romney: the country behind the shore is difficult and unsuited for the movements of the cavalry which Caesar intended to have with him; and next year he sailed for his former landing-place with a south-west wind (V. 8. 2), from which it is natural to infer that he was making for East Kent. Probably, therefore, when Caesar says *aestum . . nactus secundum*, he means, not that he started with the tide as soon as the transports arrived, but that he waited till the tide turned and, sailing eastward round the South Foreland, came to land between Deal and Walmer, where the shore is level with open country behind it.

One difficulty remains in any case. Why did Caesar in the first instance make for a shore shut in by steep cliffs, where it was impossible to land in the face of serious opposition? Volusenus, as we know, had surveyed the coast carefully and laid full information before him.

1. **tertia fere vigilia,** 'at some time in the third watch'. The time between sunset and sunrise was divided into four watches, the third beginning at midnight. On August 26 the third watch would last from 12 to about 2.30. **solvit,** sc. *navis* (acc. plur.). **ulteriorem portum:** see note on ch. 21.

2. **a quibus,** &c., 'while they had been rather slow in carrying

out this order'. No explanation of this is given, but we must remember that all the horses had to be embarked, probably by inexperienced men. **hora diei circiter quarta.** The day from sunrise to sunset was divided into twelve 'hours', each of which at the end of August would be nearly seventy minutes in length. Thus the fourth hour would be from 8.30 a.m. to 9.40. **primis navibus**: the *naves longae*, which were rowed.

3. **angustis,** 'close to it'. An easier reading is *anguste*, 'closely'. **adigi,** 'driven into', not merely 'hurled on to'.

4. **hunc . . . locum**: under the cliffs near Dover. **dum . . . convenirent**: expressing purpose. He wished to give time for the transports to arrive. **horam nonam**: 2.20 p.m. to 3.30.

5. **legatis tribunisque militum**: see Introduction, p. 16. **ex Voluseno**: see 21. 9. **monuitque,** &c. 'and warned them to carry out all orders promptly and punctually, as was demanded by the rule of military operations, especially operations on the sea, which involve quick and unsteady movement'. **postularent**: subj. because it is in a clause in Or. Obl. **haberent**: subj. independently of Or. Obl., as it gives the reason in combination with *ut* and the relative. **administrarentur**: indirect command following *monuit*. It would be more usual to have *ut* before it; but the word has occurred three times already.

6. **et** (before *ventum*), 'both'. It cannot connect *his dimissis* with *nactus*. **milia passuum.** The length of the *passus*, or double step, was five Roman feet; the Roman foot was three-eighths of an inch shorter than the English. *mille passus*, the Roman mile, was about 1,618 yards. **aperto ac plano litore,** 'open and level shore', i.e. a shore of sand or shingle, with no rocks or shoals to hinder approach.

24. 1. **reliquis copiis**: abl. of manner, often used of the force with which anything is undertaken in war, if the noun is qualified by an adj. If there is no adj., *cum* is necessary.

2. **militibus**: dat. with the three gerundives. **oppressis**: with *militibus*.

3. **insuefactos,** 'trained' to go into the water, but probably not for this special purpose. Horse races in the sea, with obstacles to leap, are not unknown at the present day.

25. The tenth legion, the first armed force, as far as we know, to fight its way on to the shore of England, is the most famous body of men in Roman, perhaps in any, military history. Caesar had trusted it from the beginning of his proconsulship. It was stationed to protect the 'Province' north of the Alps, and maintained the line of the Rhone against the efforts of the Helvetii. A little later, when a panic seized part of his army at the prospect of meeting the Germans under Ariovistus, Caesar said that if all others failed, he would march with the tenth legion alone, a compliment which it acknowledged with a vote of thanks and an assurance that it was ready to go anywhere. In the following

year it broke the ranks of the Nervii, the bravest enemy that Caesar met in Gaul, and seven years after the events here recorded it took a leading part in the decisive struggle against Pompeius at Pharsalus.

1. **quarum et species**, &c. 'which were less familiar in appearance to the natives and easier to handle': lit. 'the movement was more free from difficulty for handling'. **apertum**, 'exposed', i.e. the right, as the shield was worn on the left arm. **inde**, 'shot from them'. The position of the word seems intended to separate it from the infinitives, with which, moreover, it would have no very definite sense. **tormentis**: see Introduction, p. 23. **magno usui**, 'very serviceable'; predicative dat. indicating consequence.

2. **inusitato genere tormentorum**, 'the unfamiliar kind of artillery', seems rather to mean, 'artillery with which they were unfamiliar'.

3. **qui . . . aquilam ferebat**: see Introduction, p. 20. **praestitero**: fut. perf. because he is looking forward to the time when his action will be completed.

5. **inter se**, 'each other'.

6. **conspexissent**: some such subject as 'the men' must be supplied.

26. 1–4. Note the vivid description of the Romans' difficulties, and Caesar's skilful method of dealing with them.

28. 1. **post diem quartum quam**: a common variety for *die quarto postquam*, 'four (or, as we should say, three) days after'. **de quibus**: cf. 23. 1. **solverunt**: sc. *se a litore*, *naves* being the subject. For the more ordinary use of the word cf. 23. 1 note.

2. **sui**, 'to themselves'; objective gen.

3. **quae tamen**, &c. 'they anchored notwithstanding (the danger of doing so), but finding that they were being flooded by the waves, they were compelled in spite of the darkness to put out to sea and make for the Continent'. **adversa nocte**: Caesar was, no doubt, in the habit of making voyages by night under favourable conditions, but during a violent storm darkness would cause great danger of collisions. Moreover, even a full moon might not help them much, and there would be no stars to guide their course over the broad expanse of sea that now separated them from France.

29. Caesar is sometimes anxious to disclaim responsibility for coming misfortune, as, for example, in his account of the distribution of the legions, v. 24. Here he tells us that no one knew anything about the spring tide that follows the full moon. This seems incredible. Caesar himself had been in Brittany during the naval war against the Veneti in the previous year; his fleet had been built in the Loire, and we know that the rise and fall of the tide gave great difficulty to his commanders in their operations. On this occasion, too, he must have had many

native sailors and pilots. It is likely, however, that the east wind may have made the tide higher than usual.

Caesar has stated in ch. 20 that his objects in invading Britain were limited. We find full confirmation of this in § 4 of the present chapter. His preparations had been hurried and inadequate, and a continuance of bad luck might have brought disaster.

1. **qui dies**: referring rather loosely to *luna plena*. **maritimos aestus maximos**, 'spring tides'.

2. **quibus Caesar exercitum**, &c. This statement is rather surprising, as the main part of the force must have been carried in the transports. It is omitted in some editions. **transportandum**: the gerundive is regular after *curo*. **administrandi aut auxiliandi**, 'of working them or even of giving help'. The phrase is made rather difficult by compression, the first gerund referring to the crews of the damaged ships, the second to those of others.

3. **id**: nom. in apposition to the sentence *magna . . . facta est*.

4. **quibus reportari possent**, 'in which the soldiers could be carried back'. In English we are content to state the fact; the Latin idiom uses the consecutive subj. to indicate 'such that the soldiers could be carried back in them'. **usui**: cf. 25. 1 note. **et . . . non**: not *neque*, because the negative before *quod* would be obviously awkward. **omnibus constabat**, 'all were agreed'.

30. 1. **without their baggage**: obviously not to be taken literally.

32. 4. Caesar's words imply that this disaster was due to carelessness; but he was not one of those generals who are fond of blaming their subordinates.

5. **chariots.** In their early wars with the Romans the Gauls used these chariots (*essedum*), and presumably the Britons had learnt their use from the Gauls, who in Caesar's time had ceased to employ them. They were not fitted with scythes. Introduced into Rome, they were used in the fashionable world as a light driving carriage.

33. 1. **ex**: because the attack comes *from* the chariots: cf. *ex equo pugnare*. **perequitant**: sc. *essedarii*, the fighting men in the chariots, distinct from the *aurigae*, mentioned below. **cum se . . . insinuaverunt**, 'whenever they have penetrated': indic. because the sense is frequentative. **equitum**: their own. They advance thus protected and retire to their chariots when the cavalry falls back.

3. **ita mobilitatem equitum**, &c. 'thus they exhibit in fighting the rapidity of cavalry combined with the steadiness of infantry'. They move from place to place quickly like cavalry, but they are not troubled in action by holding and guiding their horses. **ac praecipiti**, 'and even precipitous'. **equos sustinere**, 'hold up their horses', so that they can gallop with-

out danger of falling. **percurrere . . . insistere.** Some advantage in striking or hurling may have been gained by these practices, but Caesar is, no doubt, interested in them chiefly as feats of skill.

34. 1. quibus rebus: a phrase difficult to attach to any special part of the sentence, as *perturbatis* is qualified by *novitate pugnae*. Perhaps Caesar added the latter as an explanation of the vague *quibus rebus*. We might combine them by the rendering, 'by such strange methods of fighting'. **nostris:** dat. after *auxilium tulit*.

2. suo . . . loco: *in* is often omitted before the abl. of *locus* combined with an adj.

3. qui erant in agris reliqui: 30. 3, 32. 1.

4. continerent . . . prohiberent: cf. 29. 4 note.

5. liberandi: the sing. of the gerundive is always used with the gen. of *se*, even if it refers to more than one person. **daretur . . . expulissent:** indirect for *dabitur . . . expulerimus*.

36. equinox: Sept. 24, about which time the equinoctial gales might be expected.

37. This incident gives an idea of the risks run by Caesar in his expedition to Britain. If Gaul had risen in his absence, he would have been hopelessly cut off. In his next expedition he took precautions against such an event. V. 5. 4.

2. square. The Latin *orbis* implies a circular formation.

38. 5. The *supplicatio* was decreed in times of peril or, as here, of success, answering in the latter case to our thanksgiving service. Prayers and sacrifices were offered; the period varied from one day upwards. The importance attached by the Roman home government to this first invasion of Britain is shown by the extraordinary length of the thanksgiving decreed. Yet Caesar had effected little. He was in Britain for a little more than a fortnight; he made no advance into the interior, nor, as § 4 shows, any real impression on the inhabitants.

BOOK V

1. 1. Caesar's custom was to leave in the autumn for Cisalpine Gaul, the Italian part of his province, to hold assizes, &c. (see Introd., p. 6): this year he was kept in Gaul till after Jan. 1, when the new consuls entered on office. Translate 'the year 54' into Latin.

2. beaching. The events recorded in IV. 29 explain why Caesar tried this new type of vessel. Note his observation of our Channel currents: his explanation is wrong, the smaller waves being due to the inland position and sheltered waters of the Channel. 'Our sea' is the Mediterranean between Italy and the straits of Gibraltar; 'the other seas' are other parts of the Mediterranean, e.g. the Aegean and Adriatic.

4. Spanish esparto grass was used for making ropes; and Spanish

canvas was famous, the first sails, it was said, having come from Spain.

6. Note how the Roman army was recruited.

2. 2. A sidelight on the spirit of Caesar's army.

3. **Portus Itius.** See note on iv. 22.

4. Migrating German tribes were the most difficult problem of Caesar's early years in Gaul, and were heavily defeated by him in 58 and 55 B.C. This expedition to the Treveri was clearly undertaken with the view of making Gaul safe before Caesar started for Britain. Note another precaution in 5. 4. **councils**: Caesar used to summon councils of Gauls. One is mentioned in ch. 5.

3. Of the two rivals mentioned in this and the following chapter Cingetorix offered to rule as 'friend' of the Roman people, that is, to place his external policy under the control of the Romans on condition that his government was established by their authority. Indutiomarus represented the party of complete independence, but, finding that he was not adequately supported, he was obliged to profess his readiness to submit to Caesar. He was, of course, acting insincerely, and when he found that Caesar, in spite of friendly assurances, was really favouring his rival, he became more embittered than ever. Yet it is remarkable that he ventured soon afterwards on open rebellion, because we hear (4. 1–2) that he surrendered as hostages his son and all his relations. If Caesar had returned them, he took a very serious risk for some reason or other.

2. **principatu,** 'supremacy'. The word does not denote any precise office. **inter se,** 'with each other'.

3. **in officio futuros,** 'would remain loyal'.

4. **cogere**: after *instituit.* **silvam Arduennam,** 'the forest of Ardennes,' a hilly and wooded district lying between the Rhine and the Meuse, and forming a barrier between France on the south and Holland and Belgium on the north. At the present day its communications are scanty and inconvenient.

5. **de suis privatim rebus,** 'for their own personal interests'. *privatim* is an adv., 'unofficially,' but its position makes it almost equivalent to an adj. **quoniam civitati consulere non possent,** 'since, as they said, they could do nothing to help their country'. Caesar uses the subj. because he is not stating a fact, but merely giving an indirect report of the assertions of these persons. In English we introduce some words to show this.

6. **sese . . . noluisse**: an indirect statement of the message delivered by the envoys, which is continued to the end of the chapter. **laberetur,** 'fall away'.

7. **itaque,** 'and consequently'; i. e. because he had wisely stayed at home and used his influence with his people. **fidei,** 'protection'.

4. 3. **principibus . . . convocatis hos . . . conciliavit**: an example of an abl. abs. referring to the object of a verb. The

effect is to give greater prominence to the participial phrase than if it had been put in the acc. and *hos* omitted: cf. 44. 6. **quod cum merito**, &c., 'for not only (*cum*) he felt that this was being done by him in accordance with the deserts of Cingetorix'. *quod* is the neut. of the relative pronoun referring to the previous sentence, but it may be conveniently broken up in translation. *merito* is abl. of manner. **magni interesse**, 'that it was of great importance'. The infin. follows *arbitratus*, its subject being all the words from *eius* to *valere*. **cuius tam egregiam**, &c., 'whose signal devotion to himself he had seen clearly'. *tam* may be omitted in translation.

4. **suam gratiam inter suos minui**: acc. and infin. in apposition to *factum* and explaining it. The repetition of *suam . . . suos* is intended to mark the anger of Indutiomarus. **et qui iam ante**, &c., 'and whereas he had previously been of unfriendly feeling (abl. of quality) towards us, he became much more violently exasperated by this grievance'. **qui . . . fuisset** seems to hover in sense between the causal 'because he had been' and the concessive 'though he had been'.

5. 2. If these Meldi are the tribe living round Meaux, east of Paris, the ships must have been sent down the Marne and Seine to the sea.

6. 1. **Dumnorix**: see Introd., p. 8 f. There is an interesting account of him in i. 18 and 19.

2. There is nothing to show whether the offer was really made, but it is not likely that Caesar would have proposed to an enemy something which, if disclosed, would have annoyed the friendly tribe of the Aedui.

3. **guest-friends**. *Hospitium* was a regular institution, recognized in Roman law, under which the *hospes* got, and gave, free hospitality and assistance. Caesar no doubt found it useful in extending his influence in the province to have these ties with important Gauls, and this passage shows one way in which they were a help. **religious reasons** may refer to omens or to some taboo, and no doubt was a mere excuse. No Hindu can cross the sea without losing his caste.

7. To Caesar Dumnorix was *amens* and *male sanus*. But if we look at the other side of the picture, he is a patriot who gave his life in the effort to keep his country free (notice his last words, which must have impressed his executioners, and Caesar himself, who recorded them). That way of looking at his enemies does not strike Caesar as it struck a Roman historian more than a century later; see Tacitus, *Agricola*, ch. 30 f. Yet Caesar's patience with his enemy is remarkable; he only acts in extreme provocation.

9. Shows that with the death of Dumnorix active disaffection collapsed, the other Aedui at once forgetting their pledge to support him.

8. The second expedition to Britain sailed on some day near

the beginning of July, 54 B.C. When it started at sunset, about 8 p.m., the wind blew from the south-west and the tide must have been running down the Channel against it; but by midnight, when the wind dropped, the tide had already turned north-east and the fleet drifted with it past the South Foreland to the North Sea. Consequently it had to row back, as soon as the tide allowed, to reach the former landing-place; cf. note on iv. 23.

1. **Labienus**: the ablest of Caesar's generals. When the Civil War broke out, he deserted Caesar and joined the Senatorial party under Pompeius. **portus**: Boulogne and Ambleteuse. **pro tempore et pro re**, 'according to time and circumstance'.

2. **pari numero equitum quem**, 'a force of cavalry equal to that which'. **navis solvit**: the full phrase; cf. 23. 1. **et leni Africo provectus**, &c., 'and made way with a light south-west wind; but when it dropped about midnight, he could not keep to his course'. **longius**, 'too far'.

4. **vectoriis gravibusque navigiis**, 'with heavily laden transports'; abl. of the instrument. Most of the soldiers could have had little, if any, practice in rowing.

6. **amplius octingentae**, 'more than eight hundred'. When *amplius* stands before a numeral, *quam* is regularly omitted and the case of the numeral is not affected.

9. 1. **cohortibus decem**: two from each of the five legions. If Caesar had meant a legion, he would have written *una legione*. **qui praesidio navibus essent**, 'to act as a guard for the ships'. *praesidio* is a predicative dat. expressing purpose, *navibus* is dat. of advantage. **de tertia vigilia**, 'about the third watch', i.e. some time after midnight; cf. iv. 23. 1 note. **molli atque aperto**: much the same description as we have had iv. 23. 6, though *molli* may mean 'soft' rather than 'level' or 'shelving' (*plano*). On this occasion, however, the galleys are not hauled on the beach, but anchored like the transports. **et praesidio navibus Q. Atrium praefecit**, 'and put Q. Atrius in command of the force that guarded the ships'. A difficult sentence; *praesidio* is not, as above, the abstract 'guard' but the concrete 'guarding force'; while *navibus* would be attached to *praesidio* more naturally if it did mean 'guard'.

3. **equitatu atque essedis**: for this abl. cf. iv. 24. 1 note. **flumen**: Caesar must have first crossed the Little Stour, but neither its size nor the nature of the ground behind it could make it a formidable obstacle. It is almost certain, therefore, that the river is the Great Stour. Its left bank, rising high above the stream, is the *locus superior*. Caesar crossed it somewhere near Canterbury.

4. **ab equitatu**: the cavalry had crossed the river out of sight and now attacked the enemy in flank and rear.

5. **ex silvis rari propugnabant,** 'advanced from the woods to skirmish in small bodies'. **prohibebant,** 'tried to prevent'.

6. **testudine facta et aggere,** &c., 'having formed a "tortoise" and piled earth against the stockade'. For an explanation of the 'tortoise' and for the special use of *agger* to mean a siege-work, see Introd., p. 22. Here *agger* means any suitable material for laying against the stockade.

7. **eos**: probably the Roman soldiers; but it is quite possible to take *eos fugientis* together, 'the enemy in flight,' and to supply an object after *vetuit*.

10. 11. Caesar attempting to surprise the Britons by one of his favourite rapid attacks, neglected to secure his fleet. The disaster to this gave the Britons ten days respite which they used well.

11. 8. We learn more about Cassivellaunus in ch. 20. He was king of the Catuvellauni, living about Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Oxfordshire, and grandfather of Shakespeare's Cymbeline. As ch. 20 shows, he was ambitious, and his leadership of the Britons against Caesar shows real ability. Caesar apparently means that the territory of Cassivellaunus was eighty (Roman) miles from his landing-place; he has slightly overestimated the distance. The tribes on the sea must be the Cantii (Kent); if they were the Trinobantes in Essex, who are immediately between Cassivellaunus and the sea, we should have to suppose that Caesar imagined the Thames flowing north and south, a mistake he could hardly have made; besides, Cassivellaunus was much less than eighty miles from the Essex coast.

12. The authenticity of this chapter and the two that follow has been questioned, but not on very strong grounds. The strongest seems to be that Pliny and Tacitus, writing later about Britain, make no reference to such an obvious source of information, and some weight may fairly be allowed to it. It has been pointed out, further, that the chapters break the connexion of the narrative, but if they do so more than the long descriptions of Gaul and Germany in the sixth book, that is merely an argument for supposing them to be misplaced. It must be remembered that Caesar had no time to polish his Commentaries, and that consequently the arrangement is not so perfect as it might otherwise have been. The first words of ch. 14, *ex eis omnibus*, are not, it is true, explained by anything at the end of ch. 13, but they would not follow ch. 11 quite naturally. Two points in favour of authenticity may be noticed. In 13. 4 the writer asserts that he was actually in the island and made observations, and the reference in 22. 1 must be to the statement about Kent in 13. 1.

Caesar was misinformed on various matters, some of which are noted below in this and the following chapters. On the other hand, though the length of the coast-line of Britain and

the size of Ireland are less than he supposes, he is more accurate than we might have expected.

1. **quos natos in insula,** &c., 'who according to the native tradition were indigenous in the island'; a sentence difficult to translate word for word. **quos natos** (*esse*) follows **memoria proditum** (*esse*), which follows *dicunt*. The tradition was wrong; the Celts of the interior were conquering immigrants.

2. **qui omnes . . . pervenerunt.** This sentence is parenthetical, i. e. *et* couples *transierant*, not *pervenerunt*, to *permanserunt*. It must be admitted that the arrangement of the clauses is rather awkward. **eis nominibus civitatum**: for *earum nominibus civitatum*. We hear of Atrebates in Britain as well as in Gaul.

3. **hominum,** 'of the population'.

4. **aut aere aut nummo aureo.** No bronze coins have been found as early as the date of Caesar's invasion; on the other hand, there was a gold coinage a hundred and fifty years before it. **taleis ferreis.** These have been found in great number and variety, but not in the south-eastern counties, which were the most civilized. **in mediterraneis regionibus.** Tin is found only in Cornwall. Perhaps Caesar's informants had heard that the mines were far away and understood this to mean 'far from the sea'.

5. **cuiusque generis,** 'of every sort'. Caesar must have been mistaken in excluding the beech and the fir.

6. **animi voluptatisque causa,** 'for interest and amusement'.

13. Draw a map of Britain as Caesar supposed it to be, and, comparing it with a modern atlas, notice what mistakes he makes about the east and west coasts, and about Ireland. But he shows the true scientific spirit in the caution with which he accepts statements about the island, and in the experiment mentioned in 4.

3. The editors take Caesar to mean that Mona is half-way to Ireland, and think that therefore Anglesey cannot be meant, but that the reference is to the Isle of Man; but Mona to all Roman writers means Anglesey. It is quite possible that Caesar supposed Anglesey half-way between Wales and Ireland. The 'several smaller islands' are no doubt those off the Scotch coast, where the winter nights are exceptionally long.

4. Water clocks were specially used for scientific experiments, as, unlike the sundial, they were not dependent on the presence of the sun.

14. 1. **neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine**: a compendious way of saying 'and their habits do not differ greatly from those of the Gauls'.

2. There is evidence that Caesar was misinformed about the food and dress of the natives. Corn was grown in the interior, and linen and woollen clothes were worn. So the statement just

below about the community of wives can be true only of some relics of the primitive population. The Britons were more civilized than we should gather from Caesar's account.

3. **hoc**, 'thereby'; neut. abl. **capillo . . . promisso**: abl. of quality.

4. **deni duodenique**, 'sets of ten or twelve'.

5. **sed qui sunt**, &c., 'but the issue of these unions are regarded as the children of those fathers to whose house each woman was first brought on her marriage'. **quo**: equivalent to *ad quos*. Notwithstanding the community of wives the families are kept separate.

15. The following chapters contain an account of a typical campaign against savage tribes; its interest is that it shows their tactics, which are very skilful, and the tactics adopted by the Romans to meet them. When fighting in their ranks, the legionaries, thanks to their discipline and their arms, were too strong for either Gauls or Britons, and these had to find some way to overcome or evade the Romans' superiority. You will find in ch. 34 one method which the Gauls tried with success, and the tactics of Cassivellaunus show another. Both methods took advantage of the fact that the legionary was not highly mobile, and that when fighting away from his ranks he lost the advantages of his discipline. Make out what the methods were. Caesar's cavalry were few in number and obviously ineffective.

16. This chapter resumes the story broken off after ch. 11. How far is Caesar now from the coast? (You can infer this from ch. 9. 2, ch. 10. 2, ch. 11. 7.)

17. Observe the tactics of Trebonius, which are simple and effective. He supported his cavalry by infantry, seeing that by themselves they were helpless against the Britons. Caesar used similar tactics in his campaign against Vercingetorix, employing German cavalry supported by light-armed troops. Observe how Cassivellaunus changes his tactics after his defeat (ch. 19); his efforts to starve out Caesar are frustrated by the rival Trinobantes, who supplied Caesar with food (ch. 20).

18. 1. **consilio**: not to fight *summis copiis*. **ad flumen Tamesim in finis Cassivellauni**, 'to the river Thames and (across it) into the territory of Cassivellaunus'; cf. 11. 8. **uno omnino loco**, 'in one place only'. The omission of *in* before the abl. of *locus* qualified by an adj. is regular; cf. 19. 1, where we also find *eis regionibus quibus*.

2. **eo**. We do not know where the place was. It was west of London, perhaps as far west as the mouth of the Wey. There is a place called 'Cowey Stakes' close to Walton, and some stakes, supposed to be the same as those mentioned below, have been found in the bed of the river near Brentford; but such evidence is not worth much.

3. **acutis sudibus praefixisque**, 'with sharp stakes planted

in front of it'. Caesar couples the two adjectives with *que*, but it must be omitted in translation.

4. **praemisso equitatu.** No doubt the cavalry crossed it at a distance (9. 4 note), but in this case the legionary soldiers, as we see in § 5, were so quick that they almost anticipated the attack of the cavalry.

5. **ea celeritate atque eo impetu,** 'with such speed and dash'; abl. of manner. **cum,** 'although'. The exploit is certainly astonishing; but the legionaries were regularly exercised in the fording of rivers.

19. Cassivellaunus showed sound judgement in declining further opposition to the Roman advance; he realized that his levies were no match for professional soldiers. Knowing that Caesar's time was limited, and that it was impossible for him to conquer and occupy the country, he devoted all his efforts to annoying the enemy and preventing damage to property. Caesar, who had been delayed by the disaster to his ships and was probably anxious for the safety of his camp, though the attack of the natives failed, was quite ready to retire when he had done enough for his credit. The capture of the 'town' of Cassivellaunus gave him his opportunity. As both sides had the same wishes, it is not likely that negotiations were difficult. We know nothing of the quality of the hostages surrendered nor of the amount of the promised tribute, which may have been paid for a short time.

1. **ex via**: from the road or track by which the Romans were advancing.

2. **cum equitatus noster . . . se . . . eiecerat,** 'and whenever our cavalry had ridden out'. If the principal verb is past, the pluperf. indic. is regularly used by Caesar and Cicero in the frequentative sense. Livy often uses the imperf. subj. **et magno cum periculo,** &c., 'and engaged our cavalry with great danger to it'. The English order of the words makes it necessary to transpose *nostrorum equitum* and *eis* in translation.

3. **relinquebatur ut,** &c., 'the only course left was for Caesar to forbid his cavalry to go any distance from the main body of the legions, and for so much damage only to be done to the enemy by plundering and burning as was made possible by the exertions of the legionaries on the march'. **discedi . . . noceretur**: impersonal. The damage was not, of course, done by the infantry, but their speed was the indirect cause of it.

20. 1. **Trinobantes**: in Essex and Suffolk. Their chief town was Camalodunum, now Colchester. **Caesaris fidem secutus,** 'having sought the protection of Caesar'. **in continentem Galliam.** If Caesar wrote this, the meaning must be 'to continuous Gaul', i.e. 'to Gaul on the Continent'; but it seems most likely that Caesar wrote *continentem* and that *Galliam* was written over the text by some copyist and then

introduced into the text. **ipse . . . vitaverat**: attached to the relative clause, but having no connexion with the relative. **sese**: the object after *dedituros*. When the reflexive pronoun is both subject and object to an infinitive, the subject is omitted.

2. **Cassivellauni**, 'at the hands of Cassivellaunus'; subjective gen. **qui praesit imperiumque obtineat**, 'to rule them and have sovereign power'; i. e. to be independent of any external control.

4. **ad numerum**, 'to the number required'.

21. 1. The position of all these tribes is very doubtful, and the last three have left no other trace than this mention of them. It is supposed that the 'town' of Cassivellaunus is Verulamium (close to St. Alban's), which was certainly the capital of his son.

22. 1. An excellent strategic move of Cassivellaunus.

23. Caesar's account of the expedition to Britain shows that he achieved very little. We know from a letter of Cicero, whose brother was one of Caesar's generals, that no booty was taken; and the only fruits of the campaign were hostages and a promise to pay tribute, and cessation of British assistance to Gaul. Tacitus sums up Caesar's achievements very fairly: 'The divine Julius entered Britain with an army, but though he dismayed its inhabitants by defeating them, and got possession of the coast, he may be regarded as having shown Britain to posterity, rather than as having given it into their possession' (*Agr.* 13).

24. Most of the remaining chapters of this book deal with one of Caesar's greatest dangers and are a fine illustration of how to tell a story. Note how Caesar does it. He does not begin by saying that he is going to describe a big disaster; you do not see the precipice till you are on its very edge. He simply mentions a number of events, mostly seeming insignificant, which are leading up to the catastrophe. The first of these is the (unavoidable) dispersal of the legions, of the danger of which Caesar was well aware, as can be guessed from his excuses in §§ 7–8. Mark roughly the places of the legions on the map. The only camp of which we know the exact position is that of Samarobriva (Amiens). Crassus was twenty-five miles away from there (46. 1), and Titurius, whose camp is generally put near the modern Tongres, was fifty miles from Cicero and rather more from Labienus (27. 9). The quarters of Crassus and Labienus must have been more than 100 miles apart, so the statement in § 7 is incorrect. Of the generals mentioned, two are well known: Crassus, son of the great financier, was to die with his father a year later fighting at Carrhae; Cicero is the brother of the famous orator.

1. **drawn up**: the ships were drawn up on shore for the winter season, when there was no sailing.

4. **recently**: they were thus unseasoned troops, for which reason, no doubt, Caesar strengthened them with a half legion of veterans.

25. 1. **Carnutibus**: a tribe whose territory lay south-west of Paris, separated from the Belgae by the Seine.

2. **pro**, 'in consideration of'. **quod . . . singulari eius opera fuerat usus**, 'because he had enjoyed very valuable aid from him'.

3. **tertium iam hunc**, &c., 'when he (*hunc*) was already in the third year of his reign,' lit. 'already reigning for the third year'. **palam multis ex civitate auctoribus**, 'openly and with the approval of many citizens'; i.e. the murder was not a mere isolated act of revenge, but was committed with a political purpose.

4. **quod ad pluris pertinebat**, 'because others were implicated; i.e. 'more' than the *inimici*. **cum legione**. Three were quartered among the Belgae; cf. 24. 3. **cognoverat**, 'he (Caesar) had learnt'. Caesar merely tells us that he knew the names of the murderers; but if he had meant 'whom Plancus had discovered', the verb would be in the subj. as belonging to the indirect command. **hos**: antecedent after the relative clause. In this case Caesar often uses *hic* instead of *is*.

5. **perventum** (*esse*): impersonal passive.

26. 1. **diebus circiter quindecim quibus**, 'within about fifteen days (or, as we should say, "a fortnight") after'; abl. of 'time within which'.

2. **Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis**, 'by messages from Indutiomarus of the Treveri'. For Caesar's treatment of Indutiomarus see chaps. 3–4. It is remarkable that Indutiomarus acted as he did after giving up as hostages 'his son and all his relations'. For the present, however, he may have hoped that his intrigues would be kept secret.

3. **una ex parte**, 'from one side of the camp'; i.e. most probably from the *porta decumana* at the back so as to surprise the enemy. Caesar is precise about such details. So in 58. 4 Labienus sends out his cavalry *duabus portis*. **Hispanis**, 'Spanish', mentioned here only by Caesar. Elsewhere we hear of Gallic cavalry or, less frequently, German. **re**, 'success'.

4. **uti aliqui . . . prodiret**: subjunctive, as the clause which serves as an object after *conclamaverunt* expresses an indirect command. **habere sese**: a second object, in acc. and infin. on account of the change to indirect statement. **rebus**: added merely because the form of *quibus*, unlike *quae*, gives no evidence of gender. It is remarkable that Caesar has written, quite unconsciously, two hexameters in the words *ex nostris* to *vellent*.

27. What light does this chapter throw on the Gauls' internal divisions, forms of government, and relations with the Germans?

7. **friendship**. The word is *hospitium*; see note on 6. 3.

28. The speeches in Roman histories cannot usually be supposed to reproduce what was actually said; though in this case

Caesar may have had first-hand information from some survivor of the disaster. Compare in this and the following chapter the arguments on both sides, and note that Caesar gives each point of view so fairly that it is at first hard to see which is right. The arguments of Titurius are persuasive, though he had no right to trust Ambiorix, who had admitted that he was playing a double part; further, the best officers were against him (ch. 30), and his appeal to the men (*ib.*) was inexcusable.

3. **principal**: *primorum ordinum centuriones*; see Introd., p. 17.

4. **even of Germans**: the Germans were better fighters than the Gauls. **camp**: the military successes of the Romans were in part due to the entrenching system which they developed and on which their tactics largely rested; a camp was very difficult to storm, and equally useful for defence or as a base whence to attack. See Introd., p. 21, and note on ch. 49.

29. 1. **clamitabat**, 'was vociferating'. By using the frequentative form Caesar implies that Titurius was trying to shout the others down. **adiunctis Germanis**: cf. 27. 8.

2. **Caesarem arbitrari profectum**: i. e. (*sese*) *arbitrari Caesarem profectum* (*esse*). **aliter**: i. e. *nisi profectus esset.* **fuisse capturos . . . venturos esse**: indirect for *cepissent . . . venirent.* **nostri**, 'for us'; objective gen.

3. **non hostem auctorem sed rem spectare**, 'he regarded not the fact that the advice came from an enemy, but the actual position'. **magno . . . dolori**: cf. iv. 25. 1. **Ariovisti mortem.** Nothing is known of this. When we last heard of him, he escaped in a small boat across the Rhine; cf. i. 53. 3.

5. **quis hoc sibi persuaderet?** 'who could persuade himself of this?'. If a direct question with the verb in the third person is changed into the indirect, the rule is that the verb passes into the infinitive, because such a question is merely rhetorical and is meant to state a fact; but there is this natural and important exception that, if the verb was in the subjunctive in the direct question, it remains in that mood, the tense frequently, as here, being changed to suit the historic sequence. Titurius said *quis . . . persuadeat?* **sine certa re**, 'without sure grounds'.

6. **in utramque partem**, 'in any case'; lit. 'in either direction'. **si nihil esset durius**, 'if nothing untoward happened'.

7. **Cottae quidem**, &c. Titurius said, 'What result would the advice of Cotta and those who disagree with me have?' **haberet**: for *habeat*, not *habet*. The explanation is the same as in § 5.

30. 1. **hac in utramque**, &c., 'after these arguments had been urged in favour of either view'. **primis ordinibus**: a common abbreviation for *primorum ordinum centurionibus*: see Introd., p. 17.

2. **neque is sum . . . qui**, &c., 'nor am I the man to be frightened more than any of you by the danger of death'. The

subj. is consecutive. By using *vobis* he includes himself with his hearers. **si gravius quid acciderit**: cf. 29. 6. **abs te rationem reposcent,** 'they will demand the due account from you'. The use of *re-* implies that the demand will be justified. So *reddo* often means in poetry 'give as a due'.

3. **si per te liceat,** 'if it were allowed as far as you are concerned'. Titurius uses the pres. subj. here and in the apodosis to show that he regards the fulfilment of the condition as still possible.

31. 3. **overborne:** he was probably a junior officer to Titurius, and presumably the soldiers, moved by the latter's words, were against him.

5. A sarcastic comment by Caesar on the folly of fatiguing the men by a sleepless night, which would render them equally unfit next day either to march or to defend the camp. The sarcasm is continued in the next section. But the meaning of the passage is disputed.

33. These chapters throw light on Caesar as a general. Note his criticism of the marching formation adopted, his appreciation of the moral element in war shown by his remarks in § 3 ff., and his contrast of Cotta and Titurius in §§ 1, 2. Observe that throughout these chapters Caesar conveys a complete condemnation of the latter's conduct, and yet only in one passage criticizes him directly.

6. **lamentation:** the Romans had the excitable temperament of a southern race.

34. Caesar is no more than just in crediting the native leaders with generalship (*consilium*). The only advantage possessed by the Romans was a superiority in fighting at close quarters (cf. note on ch. 15). The Gallic levies could not, like Hannibal's trained and well-armed troops at Cannae, hack their way through the legionaries. It was necessary to wear the Romans out by a continuous strain. The rank and file of the Gauls, however, could not have been without some training. Only a disciplined force could have carried out precisely and persistently the tactics here described.

1. **tota acie,** 'all along the line': *in* is usually omitted before the abl. of a noun qualified by *totus*. **pronuntiare iusserunt,** 'ordered (them) to give the word', 'ordered the word to be given'. When the object after *iubeo*, standing before an infinitive, is general in meaning, it is usually omitted. **ne . . . discederet:** an indirect command; next we have an indirect statement, and after this another indirect command. All follow *pronuntiare*; it is quite unnecessary to introduce any other verb, e.g. of 'commanding', as the mood in the clause is a sure guide to the sense. **illorum esse praedam,** &c., 'the spoil was theirs and all that the Romans (should prove to have) left was being kept for them'. **reliquissent:** indirect from the fut. perf. *reliquerint*.

2. **a fortuna.** The prep. is inserted, as it seems, merely to

balance *ab* before *duce*. ' **procurrerat**: cf. 19. 2 note. **ab ea parte,** ' in that quarter '.

3. **pronuntiari**: impers. pass., a variety for *pronuntiare* in § 1. It is similarly followed by a change from indirect command to statement, and then to command again.

4. **nihil his noceri posse,** ' no damage could be done to them '. *nihil* is used adverbially. **rursus se ad signa,** &c., ' they were to follow them as they fell back again to their standards '. The *signa* marked the rallying-places of the several units.

35. 2. **eam partem nudari.** *necesse* is followed by the acc. and infin. when the result is logically necessary, as here, but by the dat. and infin. or by the subj. with or without *ut* when the act is necessitated by duty, interest, &c. **ab latere aperto,** ' on the exposed flank,' as in iv. 25. 1. But it can hardly mean ' the right side ' here, for a gap in the square would not expose the cohorts always in the same way. As long as the square was perfect, no flank could be exposed; when there was a gap, *a* flank, but not necessarily the right, of some cohort or cohorts was ' necessarily ' exposed.

3. **qui proximi steterant**: i.e. troops posted ready to fall upon the flanks of the retreating cohorts.

4. **sin . . . vellent,** ' but if ever they wished '. The subj. seems here to be frequentative, as this clause balances *cum . . . excesserat . . . fecerat* in § 1.

5. **cum . . . pugnaretur,** ' as the battle was going on '. **horam octavam**: about 1 p.m.: cf. iv. 23. 2 note. **esset**: consecutive: cf. iv. 29. 4.

6. **T. Balventio . . . utrumque femur tragula traicitur,** ' Titus Balventius has both his thighs pierced by a javelin '. The dat. of ' the person interested ' is often placed thus at the beginning of a sentence instead of the gen. **qui . . . primum pilum duxerat,** ' who had been chief centurion (*primipilus*) '. For an explanation of this phrase see Introd., p. 17. This man must have retired and been now serving as a volunteer.

7. **ordinis,** ' rank '.

8. **ordines,** ' centuries '. **in adversum os,** ' full in the face '.

36. 2. **I hope**: ch. 27. 3 shows why Ambiorix could not grant Titurius's request outright.

37. The crowning folly of Titurius. This loss of perhaps 6,000 men and two divisional generals was the greatest disaster Caesar sustained in Gaul. Note how reticent he is, compared with a modern historian; unadorned by ' fine writing ' the facts tell their own story—the yelling Gauls, the last stand in the camp by the tired and outnumbered troops, nightfall and suicide, and a few stragglers making off by forest tracks.

5. The loss of its eagle was the greatest disgrace a legion could sustain, and was punished by disbandment.

Like the modern war correspondent, Caesar often ends his

general account of operations by describing individual acts of bravery. Cf. ch. 44.

38. 1. Why does Caesar say **night and day** instead of vice versa?

39. The Gauls are well led and act with a rapidity worthy of Caesar. For Cicero's camp, see ch. 24. The following chapters give a vivid picture of how a camp was attacked and defended.

2. **too.** As they did with Titurius 26. 2. Caesar throughout draws out the comparison between the positions of Titurius and Cicero and their very different conduct (contrast ch. 27 with ch. 41 and Cicero's admirable answer, *ib.* § 7). Cicero faced the situation in the right way, Titurius faced it wrongly and was punished by death.

40. 1. **si pertulissent,** 'if (the messengers) carried them safely to him'. The clause is sub-oblique and necessarily in the subj. because the sense is 'having promised that he would give them rewards if . . .'

2. **turres:** towers built against the rampart of the camp. They were occupied by archers and slingers, who thus were posted advantageously for meeting an attack. They were often of great height and had several stories. **operi:** the general fortification of the camp.

5. **nulla pars nocturni,** &c. 'the work goes on without interruption through the whole night': lit. 'no part . . . is interrupted as far as work is concerned'.

6. **opus,** 'necessary': here used as an indeclinable adj. More often it forms part of an impersonal phrase; e.g. *opus est navibus*, 'there is work in the matter of ships' or 'ships are wanted'. Its use as an adj. is a development of this. **praeustae:** so as to harden them. **muralium pilorum:** heavier than the ordinary javelin of the legionary, because they were flung downwards from the rampart and at an object that was quite near. **contabulantur,** 'are floored'; i.e. each story has its platform added. **pinnae loricaeque,** &c., 'battlements and breastworks made of wattles are fastened on to them', protecting the occupants of the towers on the side exposed to the missiles of the enemy. They might also be run along the rampart to increase its height, the *pinnae* rising above the *loricae* at intervals to give additional shelter. **ex cratibus:** attached to *pinnae loricaeque*, as if it had been *ex cratibus factae*.

7. **tenuissima valetudine,** 'in very poor health': abl. of quality. **ultro,** 'actually'. The soldiers went *beyond* the line of their duty. **militum concursu ac vocibus,** 'by the appeals of the soldiers who thronged round him'.

41. 1. **duces principesque,** 'generals and chieftains'; military and civil authorities. **sermonis aditum,** 'occasion for intercourse', 'intimacy'.

2. **cum Titurio egerat,** 'had urged on Titurius'.

5. **hoc . . . animo,** 'of such feeling', 'so minded'. **ut**

nihil nisi hiberna recusent: i.e. they are ready to be friends, but cannot consent to a military occupation of their country.

6. **per se**, 'as far as they are concerned'.

8. **utantur . . . mittant**: indirect commands. **sperare . . . impetraturos**: i.e. (*se*) *sperare* (*eos*) *impetraturos* (*esse*). **pro**, 'in consideration of'.

42. For siege methods and the Roman camp, see Introd., p. 21.

4. **three.** The reading is doubtful, varying between 'ten' and 'fifteen'; if, taking some place in your neighbourhood, you try to imagine the amount of ground covered by a fortification either ten or fifteen miles round, you will see the absurdity of these numbers.

43. An admirable bit of description.

1. **molten.** The Latin word, *fusilis*, properly means 'molten' and may be here used to signify red-hot. The translation 'plastic' makes no sense, for all clay is plastic, except when, as here, it is violently heated.

3. **cries.** Caesar has before spoken of the Gauls' yells (37. 3).

44. The exploit of the two centurions must have been described from the information of spectators. As we cannot doubt that the account is accurate, it is full of interest, giving us in real life an example of two picked men, well-armed and fearless, more than holding their own, like the chieftains in the Iliad, against numbers of commonplace opponents. We may, if we like, criticize the display as useless and due to a desire for self-advertisement, but Caesar appreciated courage wherever he found it, not merely among his own men (cf. iv. 25. 3–4, v. 37. 5) but not less in the ranks of the enemy. In the second book (10. 2–3) he speaks with admiration of the Belgae, who tried to cross the Aisne already choked with their dead, and of the Nervii (27. 4–5) taking their last stand on the heaps of slain that rose around them, after they had made their way across the broad stream of the Sambre, climbed its steep banks, and rushed up the slopes to engage the enemy at every disadvantage, 'desperate deeds, yet easy to heroic valour'.

1. **qui primis ordinibus appropinquarent**, 'who were now near the first ranks,' i.e. they were likely to become *primorum ordinum centuriones*, 'centurions in the first cohort of the legion'. The subj. is consecutive, 'such that they were near'; cf. iv. 29. 4.

2. **quinam anteferretur**, 'which should be preferred'. This is the indirect form of the deliberative subj. *anteferatur. quinam* is used in the sense of *uter* (§ 13). **de locis**, 'for promotion'.

4. **quaeque pars hostium . . . irrumpit**: equivalent to *irrumpitque in eam partem hostium quae.*

5. **ne Vorenus quidem**, 'nor did Vorenus either'. It is often misleading to translate *ne . . . quidem* 'not even'.

6. **spatio**: between him and the enemy. **quo percusso . . . hunc**: cf. 4. 3 note.

8. **dextram moratur manum.** The shield was on Pullo's

left arm, the sword probably hung by his left side, as it was worn by officers, who did not usually carry a shield, unless it was, as here, for some special reason. As the shield was pinned to the sword-belt, and the top of the sheath, apparently, turned somewhat to the left, he could not get it clear of the shield to draw the sword with his right hand. **impeditum,** 'thus hampered'.

11. **illum**: Pullo; but the authenticity of the sentence is very doubtful. It must have been quite obvious that he was alive. **in locum deiectus,** &c., 'he stumbled down a slope and fell'.

13. **sic fortuna,** &c., 'thus did fortune give each his turn in their rivalry and emulation'. **auxilio salutique**: predicative dative.

46. A good example of Caesar's rapidity of decision and movement. Within little more than seventeen hours of the news reaching Caesar he has made his plans, a messenger has ridden twenty-five miles, a legion has got its marching orders and covered (its advance guard, anyhow) the twenty-five miles back to Samarobriva, where Caesar was. And he inspires his lieutenants with his own rapidity. For the position of Crassus, &c., see ch. 24.

4. Labienus was in the disturbed Treveri district. See 2. 4. Dr. Rice Holmes infers that 'the Gallic cavalry, or the bulk of them, were sent home for the winter, while the Spanish cavalry and the German remained with the legions'. Hence their small numbers on this occasion.

47. 5. Caesar before this knew nothing of the disaster at Aduatuca.

48. 1. **etsi opinione trium,** &c., 'although he had been disappointed in the expectation of three legions and had been reduced (or "come down") to two'. **tamen unum,** &c., 'yet trusted to speed as the sole means to the safety of all': lit. 'rested the one aid . . . on speed'.

4. **Graecis . . . litteris,** 'in Greek characters'; i.e. he wrote Latin in Greek characters; not 'in Greek'. This is the natural meaning of the words, but the safeguard seems doubtful, as Caesar tells us elsewhere that the Helvetii and the Druids of Gaul used Greek characters for some purposes.

5. **si adire non possit,** 'if he could not reach the camp'. The verb is in the subj. because *si* connects it with *abiciat*, not with *monet*. It is part of the indirect command. **tragulum cum epistola,** &c., 'a dart with the letter fastened to the thong'. This *ammentum* was attached to the middle of the javelin, and its use enabled the thrower to send the javelin much farther than if he grasped the shaft only.

8. **biduo,** 'for two days': abl. of 'time within which'.

9. **perlectam . . . recitat,** 'after reading it to himself he read it aloud'.

10. **fumi incendiorum.** Caesar was burning the villages and homesteads on his march.

49. 3. **warned him.** 'Him' (*hunc*) has been taken to refer to Caesar: others think that it refers to the slave. What is your opinion, and why?

7. Note how much below their usual numbers these legions were.

This chapter is yet another instance of the use made of camps by the Romans. Note, however, that Caesar never allows his strategy to become purely defensive. He combines the defensive with a hard-hitting offensive when the right moment comes. What other instances of the value of camps does this book afford?

51. 1. **traducunt**: across the stream mentioned in the last two chapters. **iniquo loco**, 'in an unfavourable position'. Caesar's camp was well placed (49. 7), probably near the top of a slope. For the omission of *in* cf. iv. 34. 2.

2. **potestatem**, 'opportunity'.

3. **in speciem**, 'merely for effect'. **ea**, 'by that way', 'through them'.

4. **in fugam dat**, 'put to flight'. **sic uti omnino**, &c., 'so that no single man at all stopped to fight'; i.e. none stopped if he could help it. The position of *nemo* gives it peculiar emphasis apart from the addition of *omnino*.

52. 1. **illorum**, 'to the enemy': objective gen.

2. **turris, testudines, munitiones**, 'towers' to put the enemy on a level with the defenders on the wall, 'sheds' that could be moved about to protect workers as they levelled the ground, 'lines of entrenchment' for the blockade of the camp. For these last cf. 42. 1–2. Caesar was surprised at the scientific methods of the natives. **non decimum quemque . . . militem**, 'not one soldier in ten'.

3. **res**, 'the defence'.

4. **centuriones . . . tribunos**: all of them, not merely some selected for special distinction.

6. **quod detrimentum**, 'the loss which'. The antecedent is put in the relative clause. **legati**: Sabinus, whom alone he makes responsible. **hoc**, 'so much': neut. abl. as in 14. 3. **laetatio**: not found elsewhere. It is stronger than *laetitia*, the act of 'rejoicing', not merely the feeling of 'joy'.

53. The collapse of the Gauls after a single defeat shows a feeble spirit: so the Aedui collapse on the death of Dumnorix (ch. 7).

6. **Aremorican.** The coast tribes of Normandy and Brittany. The word is Celtic and means 'maritime'.

54. At the end of the second book Caesar says that all Gaul was subdued. This chapter is a striking comment on the assertion. After five years of war there was danger almost everywhere, and the outbreak under Indutiomarus may have come as a relief

to Caesar. At any rate it gave him the opportunity of striking a blow and getting rid of Indutiomarus; and in the last words of the book he tells us that Gaul was *paulo quietior*. Yet at the very beginning of the next we find him expecting serious disturbances 'for many reasons'.

2. **Senones**: a people on the Seine, south-east of Paris. The word here is subject to two verbs, of which *expulerunt* is the first. In translation we should take *conati* as a verb. 'The Senones . . . tried to put Cavarinus to death . . ., and when he', &c. **magnae . . . auctoritatis**, 'of great influence': gen. of quality, connected by *et* with the adj. *firma*. **publico consilio**, 'by a decree of the government', which would make the act of much more significance than a mere murder.

3. **dicto audientes**, 'obedient'. As *audientes* is used merely as an adj. it is followed by the dat.

4. **esse aliquos repertos**, &c., 'the fact that some had been found to take the lead in attacking us'. These words are the subject to *valuit* and *attulit*. **alteros . . ., alteros**, 'the former . . ., the latter'. We have not heard of any special help lately given by the Remi. **fuerit**: consecutive after *ut*, in the perfect tense because we should have had *fuit*, not *erat*, in an independent clause. **suspecta nobis**, 'an object of suspicion to us'. *nobis* is dat., *suspecta* being merely an adj. as *audientes* just above.

5. **idque adeo haud scio mirandumne sit**, 'and I am not sure that this is really a matter of surprise'. *id* belongs to *mirandumne sit*, but it is placed as near as possible to the end of the previous sentence, which it repeats. *adeo* emphasizes *id*, or it may be taken with *mirandum*, 'so much a matter of surprise'. **praeferebantur**, 'used to be thought superior'. **eius opinionis**, 'of that reputation'.

55. 2. Ariovistus had been defeated and driven back across the Rhine in Caesar's first campaign: the Usipetes and Tencteri, migrating German tribes, had been driven into it in 55 B.C.

56. 2. One way to secure rapid mobilization!

57. This and the following chapter show the disunion of Gaul in a clear light. What evidence is there in them that the Gallic cavalry were disbanded for the winter?

58. 1. **maiore in dies contemptione**, 'with a contempt that grew stronger day by day'. **in dies** is always used in connexion with some comparative expression; it is not merely equivalent to *cotidie*. **custodiis**, 'by sentries' in the concrete sense. **ea res**: the fact that he had cavalry in the camp.

2. **ex**, 'according to'. **magna cum contumelia verborum**, 'with many insulting cries'.

3. **ubi visum est**, 'when they thought well'; i.e. when they had had enough of it. **sub**, 'just before'.

4. **praecipit atque interdicit**: *praecipit* is followed by the indirect command *omnes peterent; atque interdicit* is followed by

neu quis . . . vulneret, and should be taken immediately before that clause, *neu* being regarded as translated *ne*, because the 'and' is not wanted, if the words are so arranged. **vulneret . . . viderit**: pres. and perf. subj., though they are connected with the historic *peterent*. **quod mora reliquorum**, &c., 'because he did not wish that Indutiomarus should get a start by their stopping to deal with the rest, and so escape'.

6. **comprobat hominis consilium fortuna**, 'fortune justified his plan': *hominis* is a variety for *eius*.

7. **paulo**: with *quietiorem*.

VOCABULARY

Diphthongs and final *i* and *o* are long, if they are not marked. All other long vowels are marked, unless consonants make the syllable necessarily long. If an unmarked vowel precedes a mute followed by a liquid, the quantity of the syllable is doubtful.

Perfects and supines of all verbs of the third conjugation are given. Under other verbs they are not given unless they are irregular.

ā, ab, abs, *prep. c. abl.* from, by.

ab-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* hide.

ab-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw away, throw.

abi-ēs, -etis, *f.* fir.

ac, *see* **atque.**

ac-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* approach, come near.

accer-so, -sīvi, -sītum (3), *tr.* summon.

ac-cido, -cidi, — (3), *intr.* happen, befall.

ac-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* receive.

aci-ēs, -ēi, *f.* line (*of battle*).

ācriter, *adv.* vigorously; *superl.* **ācerrimē.**

acūt-us, -a, -um, sharp.

ad, *prep. c. acc.* to, against, at, for.

adaequo (1), *tr.* make equal, equal.

ad-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr. or intr.* add, make mention also.

addūco, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bring, induce.

ad-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *tr. or intr.* go to, come to.

adeo, *adv.* so, to such a degree, really.

adfero, attuli, allatum, adferre, *tr.* bring, cause.

ad-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* affect, move, fill.

adflicto (1), *tr.* shatter, dash about.

ad-haeresco, -haesi, -haesum (3), *intr.* cling, lodge.

adhortor (1), *tr.* encourage, cheer on.

ad-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw up against.

ad-igo, -ēgi, -actum (3), *tr.* drive into.

adit-us, -ūs, *m.* approach, right of approach.

adiun-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* unite.

adiūt-or, -ōris, *m.* helper.

administro (1), *tr. or intr.* carry on, manage.

admīror (1), *tr.* admire, wonder at.

ad-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* commit, incur.

admodum, *adv.* quite, to the number of.

ad-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* am at hand, am there.

adulescen-s, -tis, *m.* young man.

advent-us, -ūs, *m.* arrival, approach.

advers-us, -a, -um, opposite, opposing, adverse.
aedifici-um, -i, *n.* building.
aeg-er, -ra, -rum, sick, ill.
aegrē, *adv.* with difficulty.
aequ-us, -a, -um, equal, level, untroubled, resigned.
aes, aeris, *n.* bronze.
aest-ās, -ātis, *f.* summer.
aest-us, -ūs, *m.* tide.
aet-ās, -ātis, *f.* age.
ag-er, -ri, *m.* field, land.
agg-er, -eris, *m.* material, earth.
agm-en, -inis, *n.* column, main body.
ago, ēgi, actum (3), *tr.* drive, do, discuss.
alacrit-ās, -ātis, *f.* eagerness, dash.
alb-us, -a, -um, white ; **plumbum album,** tin.
aliēn-us, -a, -um, of another, unfavourable.
ali-qui, -qua, -quod, *adj.* some, any ; *as pron.* someone.
ali-quis, -quid, *pron.* someone, something.
aliter, *adv.* otherwise.
ali-us, -a, -ud, other ; **alii . . . alii,** some . . . others.
al-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* feed, keep.
alt-er, -era, -erum, the other ; **alter . . . alter,** the one . . . the other.
altitūd-o, -inis, *f.* height, depth.
alt-us, -a, -um, high, deep ; **alt-um, -i,** *n.* deep water.
amb-o, -ae, -o, both.
amīciti-a, -ae, *f.* friendship.
ā-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* lose.
amment-um, -i, *n.* thong.
amplius, *compar. adv.* more.
ampl-us, -a, -um, considerable, large.
ancor-a, -ae, *f.* anchor.
angust-us, -a, -um, narrow, close.
animadver-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* notice, observe.
anim-us, -i, *m.* mind, feeling.
annōtin-us, -a, -um, of last year.
ann-us, -i, *m.* year.
ans-er, -eris, *m.* goose.
ante, *adv. or prep. c. acc.* before.
ante-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* prefer.
apert-us, -a, -um, open, exposed.
appello (1), *tr.* call, address.
appropinquo (1), *intr. c. dat.* approach, draw near to.
apud, *prep. c. acc.* at, among, with.
aqu-a, -ae, *f.* water.
aquil-a, -ae, *f.* eagle.
arbitror (1), *tr. or intr.* believe.
arb-or, -oris, *f.* tree.
ar-deo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* am on fire, am incensed.
ārid-us, -a, -um, dry ; **āridum, -i,** *n.* dry land.
arm-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* arms.
armament-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* rigging.
armo (1), *tr.* arm.
ascen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* climb up, man.
aspect-us, -ūs, *m.* appearance.
at, *conj. or adv.* but, at all events.
atque *or* **ac,** *conj.* and.
attex-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* weave on, fasten on.
at-tingo, -tigi, -tactum (3), *tr.* search.
auct-or, -ōris, *m.* adviser, abettor.
auctōrit-ās, -ātis, *f.* influence.
audacter, *adv.* boldly ; *superl.* **audācissimē.**
audio (4), *tr.* hear.

aure-us, -a, -um, golden.
aurīg-a, -ae, *m.* driver.
aut, *conj.* or, **aut . . . aut,** either . . . or.
autem, *conj.* but, whereas, now.
auxilior (1), *intr.* bring help.
auxili-um, -i, *n.* help.
āver-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* turn aside.

balte-us, -i, *m.* shoulder-belt, sword-belt.
barbar-us, -a, -um, uncivilized, native.
bell-um, -i, *n.* war.
benefici-um, -i, *n.* kindness, goodness.
benevolenti-a, -ae, *f.* goodwill, devotion.
bīdu-um, -i, *n.* two days.
brev-is, -e, short; **brevi,** *adv.* shortly, within a short space.

cado, cecidi, cāsum (3), *intr.* fall.
caerule-us, -a, -um, blue, dark.
caesp-es, -itis, *m.* sod.
calamit-ās, -ātis, *f.* disaster.
capill-us, -i, *m.* hair.
capio, cēpi, captum (3), *tr.* take, search, choose, make.
captīv-us, -i, *m.* prisoner.
cap-ut, -itis, *n.* head.
caro, carnis, *f.* flesh.
castr-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* camp.
cās-us, -ūs, *m.* chance, danger, mishap; **cāsū,** by chance.
caus-a, -ae, *f.* cause; **causā,** for the sake of.
circiter, *adv.* about.
circum-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send round.
circum-sisto, -steti, — (3), *tr.* surround.
circum-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *tr.* surround.
citŏ, *adv.* quickly; *superl.* **citissimē.**
cīvit-ās, -ātis, *f.* state, community.
clāmito (1), *tr. or intr.* shout, vociferate.
clār-us, -a, -um, loud.
coepi, coeptus sum, *defect. intr.* began.
co-gnosco, -gnōvi, -gnitum (3), *tr.* learn.
cōgo, coēgi, coactum (3), *tr.* collect, compel.
cohor-s, -tis, *f.* cohort.
cohortor (1), *tr.* urge, encourage.
coicio, coiēci, coiectum (3), *tr.* throw, hurl.
collaudo (1), *tr.* praise, commend.
coll-is, -is, *m.* hill.
colloco (1), *tr.* place, post.
colloqui-um, -i, *n.* conference.
col-loquor, -locūtus sum (3), *intr.* converse, confer.
colo, colui, cultum (3), *tr.* farm.
col-or, -ōris, *m.* colour.
commemoro (1), *tr.* relate, recount.
comminus, *adv.* hand to hand.
com-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* put together, do, begin.
commod-um, -i, *n.* advantage, use.
commūn-is, -e, common, general.
commūtāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* change, turn.
comparo (1), *tr.* prepare, make ready.
com-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive, drive in.
com-pleo, -plēvi, -plētum (2), *tr.* fill up, fill.
complūr-ēs, -a, many, several.
comporto (1), *tr.* bring together, collect.

comprehen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* arrest.
con-cido, -cidi, — (3), *intr.* fall.
concilio (1), *tr.* win over, cause to make friends with.
concito (1), *tr.* stir up.
conclāmo (1), *tr. or intr.* raise a cry, cry out.
concurs-us, -ūs, *m.* thronging.
condici-o, -ōnis, *f.* terms.
confert-us, -a, -um, crowded.
confestim, *adv.* immediately.
confirmo (1), *tr.* settle, reassure; declare.
conflicto (1), *tr.* harass.
conflī-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *intr.* fight, engage.
coniun-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* join, unite.
cōnor (1), *tr. or intr.* attempt, try.
conscen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* mount, embark on.
conscrī-bo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* write.
consector (1), *tr.* chase, hunt down.
consen-tio, -si, -sum (4), *intr.* agree, make common cause.
con-sīdo, -sēdi, -sessum (3), *intr.* encamp, establish myself.
consili-um, -i, *n.* plan, design, decision, judgement.
consimil-is, -e, like.
con-sisto, -stiti, -stitum (3), *intr.* stand, stop, keep a position.
consōlor (1), *tr.* reassure, cheer.
con-spicio, -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr.* see, observe.
conspicor (1), *tr.* descry.
constit-uo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* place, station, appoint, determine.
con-sto, -stiti, -stātum (1), *intr.* am settled, am established; *impers.* **constat,** it is agreed.
con-suesco, -suēvi, -suētum (3), *intr.* grow accustomed; *perf.* am wont.
consuētūd-o, -inis, *f.* habit, custom.
consul-o, -ui, -tum (3), *intr. c. dat.* look after the interest of, help.
consūm-o, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* use up, spend.
contabulo (1), *tr.* floor.
contem-no, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* despise.
contempti-o, -ōnis, *f.* contempt.
conten-do, -di, -tum (3), *intr.* struggle, exert myself; hasten, march.
contenti-o, -ōnis, *f.* struggle, rivalry, regular battle.
continen-s, *gen.* **-tis,** continuous; *as noun, f.* continent.
con-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* bound, shut in, keep, hold back.
continu-us, -a, -um, successive.
conti-o, -ōnis, *f.* meeting, parade.
contrā, *prep. c. acc.* against, in reply to.
contrōversi-a, -ae, *f.* dispute.
contumēli-a, -ae, *f.* insult, indignity.
con-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* assemble.
convent-us, -ūs, *m.* meeting.
conver-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* turn.
convoco (1), *tr.* call together.
co-orior, -ortus sum (4), *intr.* arise, break out.
cōpi-a, -ae, *f.* plenty; *in plur.* forces.
corp-us, -oris, *n.* body.

cotīdiān-us, -a, -um, daily, usual.
crāt-is, -is, *f.* wicker-work, wattle.
crēb-er, -ra, -rum, thick, close.
culp-a, -ae, *f.* fault.
cum, *prep. c. abl.* with.
cum, *conj.* when, since, although; **cum . . . tum,** not only . . . but also.
cunctor (1), *intr.* delay.
cupidē, *adv.* eagerly; *compar.* **cupidius.**
cūro (1), *tr.* cause.
curr-us, -ūs, *m.* chariot.
curs-us, -ūs, *m.* speed, course, voyage.
custōdia, -ae, *f.* guard, sentry.

dē, *prep. c. abl.* from, down from; concerning, about.
decem, *indecl. adj.* ten.
decim-us, -a, -um, tenth.
dēclīv-is, -e, sloping, steep.
dēdec-us, -oris, *n.* disgrace, shameful act.
dē-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* surrender.
dēdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* withdraw, bring.
dēfecti-o, -ōnis, *f.* revolt.
dēfen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* protect.
dē-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* carry down; report, deliver.
dē-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *intr.* revolt, withdraw.
defī-go, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* fix, stick.
dē-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw, drive down; disappoint.
deinceps, *adv.* successively.
dēligo (1), *tr.* fasten, moor.
dēmo, dempsi, demptum (3), *tr.* take down.
dēmonstro (1), *tr.* mention, explain, describe.
dēn-i, -ae, -a, ten each.
dēnuntio (1), *tr.* warn, declare.
dēper-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* lose.
dē-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* lay aside, give up.
dēprehen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* catch, overtake.
descen-do, -di, -sum (3), *intr.* come down, resort to.
dēser-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* abandon.
dē-silio, -silui, -sultum (4), *intr.* jump down.
despēro (1), *tr.* despair of.
dē-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* am wanting.
dēterreo (2), *tr.* deter.
dētrīment-um, -i, *n.* damage.
de-us, -i, *m.* god.
dextr-a, -ae, *f.* right hand.
dī-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* say, speak.
dict-um, -i, *n.* saying, command.
di-ēs, -ēi, *c.* (*plur. masc.*), day; **in diēs,** day after day.
differo, distuli, dīlātum, differre, *intr.* differ.
difficult-ās, -ātis, *f.* difficulty.
dif-fīdo, -fīsus sum (3), *intr. c. dat.* mistrust, despair of.
dīligenter, *adv.* carefully; *superl.* **dīligentissimē.**
dīligenti-a, -ae, *f.* care, vigilance.
dī-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* dismiss, send in different directions, abandon.
dis-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* withdraw, depart; **discēdo ab armis,** lay down arms.
discess-us, -ūs, *m.* departure.
disper-go, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* disperse.

disputāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* argument.
dissen-tio, -si, -sum (4), *intr.* disagree.
dissipo (1), *tr.* scatter.
diūtin-us, -a, -um, lasting.
do, dedi, datum (1), *tr.* give.
doc-eo, -ui, -tum (2), *tr.* point out.
doleo (2), *intr.* grieve, feel resentment.
dol-or, -ōris, *m.* grief, grievance.
domestic-us, -a, -um, of the home, intertribal.
dom-us, -ūs, *f.* house, home.
dubitāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* doubt.
dubito (1), *intr.* hesitate.
ducent-i, -ae, -a, two hundred.
dū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead.
dum, *conj.* while, until.
du-ŏ, -ae, -ŏ, two.
duodecim, *indecl. adj.* twelve.
duodēn-i, -ae, -a, twelve each.
duodēvīginti, *indecl. adj.* eighteen.
dūr-us, -a, -um, hard, disastrous.
dux, ducis, *c.* guide, leader, general.

ē, *see* **ex.**
eā, *adv.* by that way.
ēdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* bring out, draw (*a sword*).
ef-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* make, produce, accomplish.
ef-fugio, -fūgi, — (3), *intr.* escape.
ego, mei, I.
ē-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* step out, go out.
ēgregi-us, -a, -um, exceptional.
ēgress-us, -ūs, *m.* landing-place.
ē-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw out, drive on to; **mē ēicio,** rush out, gallop.
eiusmodi *or* **eius modi,** of that sort, such.
ē-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send out.
ēnuntio (1), *tr.* report.
eo, īvi *or* **ii, itum, īre,** *intr.* go.
eo, *adv.* thither, to that place.
eōdem, *adv.* to the same place.
epistol-a, -ae, *f.* letter.
equ-es, -itis, *m.* horseman; *plur.* cavalry.
equest-er, -ris, -re, of cavalry.
equitāt-us, -ūs, *m.* cavalry.
equ-us, -i, *m.* horse.
ergā, *prep. c. acc.* towards.
erro (1), *intr.* wander, am mistaken.
ērupti-o, -ōnis, *f.* sally.
essedāri-us, -i, *m.* charioteer.
essed-um, -i, *n.* chariot.
et, *conj.* and; **et . . . et,** both . . . and.
etiam, *conj. or adv.* also, even.
etsi, *conj.* although.
ē-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* turn out, happen.
ēvoco (1), *tr.* call out, summon.
ex *or* **ē,** *prep. c. abl.* out of, from; according to.
exāmino (1), *tr.* weigh, test.
exanimo (1), *tr.* put out of breath, kill; **exanimātus,** fainting.
exar-desco, -si, -sum (3), *intr.* blaze out, am incensed.
exaudio (4), *tr.* hear (*at a distance*).
ex-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* go from.
excito (1), *tr.* raise up, build.
exercitāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* training.
exercit-us, -ūs, *m.* army.
exigu-us, -a, -um, small.
existimāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* opinion, reputation.
existimo (1), *tr.* think, believe.
exit-us, -ūs, *m.* result.
expedio (4), *tr.* disencumber,

make ready; **expedītus,** unencumbered, convenient.
ex-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive out, banish.
expio (1), *tr.* make good, repair.
ex-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* put out, draw up in view.
exspecto (1), *tr. or intr.* wait for, wait.
exstin-guo, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* put out, put an end to.
exsto, —, — (1), *intr.* stand out from.
extrā, *prep. c. acc.* outside.
ex-uo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* strip of (*acc. and abl.*).

facile, *adv.* easily; *compar.* **facilius.**
facio, fēci, factum (3), *tr.* make, build, do.
fact-um, -i, *n.* act, event.
facult-ās, -ātis, *f.* opportunity.
fāg-us, -i, *f.* beech.
fam-ēs, -is, *f.* hunger.
familiārit-ās, -ātis, *f.* friendship.
fās, *n. indecl.* right.
fēlīciter, *adv.* fortunately.
fem-ur, -oris *or* **-inis,** *n.* thigh.
ferē, *adv.* almost.
fero, tuli, lātum, ferre, *tr.* carry, bear.
ferre-us, -a, -um, of iron, iron.
ferr-um, -i, *n.* iron.
fid-ēs, -ei, *f.* loyalty, protection; **fidem facio,** gain credence.
figūr-a, -ae, *f.* shape, build.
fīli-us, -i, *m.* son.
fīn-is, -is, *m.* end, boundary; *plur.* territory.
finitim-us, -a, -um, neighbouring.
fīo, factus sum, fieri, am done, am made.
firmiter, *adv.* firmly.
firm-us, -a, -um, strong.
fle-cto, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* turn.
fluct-us, -ūs, *m.* wave.
flūm-en, -inis, *n.* river, current.
fort-is, -e, brave.
fortiter, *adv.* bravely; *superl.* **fortissimē.**
fortūn-a, -ae, *f.* fortune.
foss-a, -ae, *f.* trench.
frango, frēgi, fractum (3), *tr.* break, wreck.
frāt-er, -ris, *m.* brother.
frīg-us, -oris, *n.* cold.
frūmentāri-us, -a, -um, of corn; **rēs frūmentāria,** supply of food.
frūment-um, -i, *n.* corn.
fug-a, -ae, *f.* flight.
fugio, fūgi, — (3), *intr.* flee, fly.
fūm-us, -i, *m.* smoke.
fund-a, -ae, *f.* sling.
fūn-is, -is, *m.* rope.

gallīn-a, -ae, *f.* fowl.
gen-s, -tis, *f.* nation, people.
gen-us, -eris, *n.* kind.
gero, gessi, gestum (3), *tr.* carry on, do; **rem gero,** fight.
gladi-us, -i, *m.* sword.
glōri-a, -ae, *f.* renown.
grāti-a, -ae, *f.* popularity, influence.
grav-is, -e, heavy, serious.
graviter, *adv.* seriously, violently; **graviter fero,** feel indignant at; *compar.* **gravius,** *superl.* **gravissimē,**
gusto (1), *tr.* taste.

habeo (2), *tr.* have, hold, consider.
haud, *adv.* not.
hībern-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* winter camp.
hĭc, haec, hōc, this.
hiemo (1), *intr.* pass the winter, winter.

hiem-s, -is, *f.* winter, storm.
hom-o, -inis, *c.* human being, man, person.
hon-or *or* **hon-ōs, -ōris,** *m.* honour.
hōr-a, -ae, *f.* hour.
hortor (1), *tr.* urge, encourage.
host-is, -is, *c.* enemy.
hūmān-us, -a, -um, civilized, refined.

iacio, iēci, iactum (3), *tr.* throw, cast.
iam, *adv.* now, already.
ibĭ, *adv.* there.
idcirco, *adv.* on that account.
īdem, eadem, idem, same.
idōne-us, -a, -um, suitable.
ignōro (1), *tr.* am ignorant of.
ignōt-us, -a, -um, unknown.
ill-e, -a, -ud, that; he, she, it.
im-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send in, hurl.
immortāl-is, -e, immortal.
impedio (4), *tr.* hamper, entangle; **impedītus,** difficult, thick (*of woods*).
im-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive on, induce.
imperāt-or, -ōris, *m.* commander-in-chief.
imperāt-um, -i, *n.* order.
imperīt-us, -a, -um, inexperienced.
imperi-um, -i, *n.* command, rule, sovereignty.
impero (1), *tr.* demand (*acc. and dat.*); *intr. c. dat.* command.
impetro (1), *tr.* gain (*by asking*).
impet-us, -ūs, *m.* attack, rush, dash.
importo (1), *tr.* import.
imprūdenti-a, -ae, *f.* ignorance.
impuls-us, -ūs, *m.* instigation.
in, *prep. c. acc.* to, towards, against; *c. abl.* in, on, among.
incendi-um, -i, *n.* burning, fire.
in-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* begin.
incito (1), *tr.* urge on to full speed, drive quickly.
incognit-us, -a, -um, unknown.
in-colo, -colui, -cultum (3), *tr.* inhabit.
incolum-is, -e, safe, unhurt.
incommod-um, -i, *n.* disaster, loss.
incrēdibil-is, -e, incredible.
inde, *adv.* thence.
indign-us, -a, -um, unworthy.
inferi-or, -us, lower.
in-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* bring in, bring against; **bellum infero,** make (offensive) war.
in-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* stain.
infīnīt-us, -a, -um, boundless, countless.
ingen-s, *gen.* **-tis,** huge, immense.
in-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* enter, penetrate.
inimīc-us, -a, -um, unfriendly, hostile; *as noun,* opponent, rival.
inīqu-us, -a, -um, uneven, unfavourable.
initi-um, -i, *n.* beginning, outskirts.
iniūri-a, -ae, *f.* outrage, harm.
inqu-am, -is, -it, *defect. intr.* say.
in-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* follow up.
insinuo (1), *tr.* thrust in; **mē insinuo,** penetrate.
in-sisto, -stiti, — (3), *intr.* stand.
instābil-is, -e, unsteady.
instit-uo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* prepare, build, begin.

in-sto, -stiti, -stātum (1), *intr.* press forward.
instru-o, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* form, draw up.
insuēfact-us, -a, -um, trained.
insul-a, -ae, *f.* island.
intelle-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* know, perceive.
inter, *prep. c. acc.* between, among; **inter sē,** together, each other.
inter-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* intervene, elapse.
inter-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* intercept.
interdī-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr. or intr.* forbid.
inter-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* perish.
inter-est, -fuit, -esse, *impers. intr.* it is of importance.
inter-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* kill.
interim, *adv.* meanwhile.
interi-or, -us, inner; **interiōrēs,** people of the interior.
inter-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* let pass, stop.
intrā, *prep. c. acc.* within, outside.
introit-us, -ūs, *m.* entrance.
intrō-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send inside.
intrō-rumpo, -rūpi, -ruptum (3), *intr.* break in.
inūsitāt-us, -a, -um, unfamiliar.
inūtil-is, -e, useless.
inveter-asco, -āvi, — (3), *intr.* become established.
invīto (1), *tr.* invite, allure, lure on.
ips-e, -a, -um, self, very.
ir-rumpo, -rūpi, -ruptum (3), *intr.* break in, force a way.
is, ea, id, that; he, she, it.
ita, *adv.* so.
itaque, *adv.* and so, accordingly.
item, *adv.* in like manner.
iter, itineris, *n.* journey, march, route.
iubeo, iussi, iussum (2), *tr.* order.
iūdico (1), *tr. or intr.* judge, decide.
iug-um, -i, *n.* yoke.
iustiti-a, -ae, *f.* justice, fairness.

lābor, lapsus sum (3), *intr.* fall, fall away.
lab-or, -ōris, *m.* toil.
labōro (1), *intr.* work, am hard pressed.
labr-um, -i, *n,* lip.
lac, lactis, *n.* milk.
lacess-o, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.* harass, provoke.
laetāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* rejoicing, exultation.
laetiti-a, -ae, *f.* joy.
lātē, *adv.* widely.
lat-us, -eris, *n.* side.
laudo (1), *tr.* praise.
lau-s, -dis, *f.* renown, glory.
lēgāt-us, -i, *m.* envoy; general.
legi-o, -ōnis, *f.* legion.
legionāri-us, -a, -um, of the legion, legionary.
lēn-is, -e, gentle, slight.
lep-us, -oris, *m.* hare.
levit-ās, -ātis, *f.* lightness.
līberē, *adv.* boldly.
līber-i, -ōrum, *m. plur.* children.
lībero (1), *tr.* set free.
licet, licuit, *or* **licitum est** (2), *impers. intr.* it is allowed.
lignāt-or, -ōris, *m.* man sent to cut wood.
littera, -ae, *f.* letter (*of the alphabet*), character; *plur.* dispatch.
līt-us, -oris, *n.* shore.
loc-us, -i, *m.* place, ground, room, position, post.

longē, *adv.* far, by far; *compar.* **longius**, too far.
longinqu-us, -a, -um, long (*of time*).
long-us, -a, -um, long; **nāvis longa**, galley.
lōrīc-a, -ae, *f.* breastwork.
lūn-a, -ae, *f.* moon.
lux, lūcis, *f.* light, dawn.

magis, *adv.* more; *superl.* **maximē**, especially.
magnitūd-o, -inis, *f.* size.
magn-us, -a, -um, great, loud.
mai-or, -us, greater; **maiōrēs** (*nātū*), ancestors.
mando (1), *tr.* entrust, commit; **mē mando**, take to.
man-eo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* remain.
man-us, -ūs, *f.* hand, band, force.
mar-e, -is, *n.* sea.
maritim-us, -a, -um, belonging to the sea, on the sea.
materi-a, -ae, *f.* timber.
mediocr-is, -e, moderate.
mediterrāne-us, -a, -um, inland.
medi-us, -a, -um, in the middle, middle of.
membr-um, -i, *n.* limb.
memori-a, -ae, *f.* memory, tradition.
meridiān-us, -a, -um, of midday.
merit-um, -i, *n.* desert, service.
met-us, -ūs, *m.* fear.
me-us, -a, -um, my, mine.
mīl-es, -itis, *m.* soldier.
mīlitār-is, -e, military.
mille, *indecl. adj.* thousand; **mīli-a, -um**, *n. plur.* thousands.
min-uo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* impair, lessen.
minus, *compar. adv.* less.
mīror (1), *tr. or intr.* wonder at, wonder.
mitto, mīsi, missum (3), *tr.* send.
mōbilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* rapidity.
moderor (1), *tr.* check.
modŏ, *adv.* merely, only.
moll-is, -e, soft; gently sloping.
moneo (2), *tr.* advise.
mon-s, -tis, *m.* mountain, hill.
mor-a, -ae, *f.* delay.
moror (1), *tr. or intr.* hinder, hamper, delay.
mor-s, -tis, *f.* death.
mōs, mōris, *m.* custom.
mōt-us, -ūs, *m.* movement, sweep (*of oars*).
multitūd-o, -inis, *f.* number, numbers.
mult-us, -a, -um, much, many; *adv.* **multum**, much, greatly; **multo**, by much, far.
mūnio (4), *tr.* fortify, protect.
mūnīti-o, -ōnis, *f.* entrenchment, lines, fortification, palisade.
mūrāl-is, -e, mural.

nam, *conj.* for.
nanciscor, nactus sum (3), *tr.* get, occupy, take advantage of.
nascor, nātus sum (3), *intr.* am born, am native, am found.
nātūr-a, -ae, *f.* nature, character.
nāvigi-um, -i, *n.* vessel.
nāvigo (1), *intr.* sail.
nāv-is, -is, *f.* ship.
nē, *conj.* lest, that . . . not; *adv.* **nē . . . quidem**, not even, nor either.
-ne, *interrog. particle; in indirect questions*, whether.
nec, *see* **neque**.
necessārio, *adv.* necessarily.

necesse, *indecl. adj.* necessary.
nēmo (**nullĭus** *used as gen.*), *acc.* **nēminem,** no one.
nēquāquam, *adv.* by no means.
neque *or* **nec,** *conj.* nor, and not.
neu *or* **nēve,** *conj.* and that not, nor.
nihil, *n. indecl.* nothing; *as adv.* in no wise.
nihilo (*abl. of* **nihilum**), by nothing, no; **nihilo sētius,** none the less.
nisĭ, *conj.* if not, unless; except.
nōbilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* nobility, nobles.
noceo (2), *intr. c. dat.* hurt.
nocturn-us, -a, -um, by night.
nōlo, nōlui, nolle, *intr.* am unwilling, refuse.
nōm-en, -inis, *n.* name.
nōmināt-im, *adv.* by name, individually.
nōn, *adv.* not.
nōn-us, -a, -um, ninth.
nost-er, -ra, -rum, our; **nostri,** our men, Romans.
nōtus, -a, -um, known.
novit-ās, -ātis, *f.* novelty, strange character.
nox, noctis, *f.* night, darkness.
nūdo (1), *tr.* leave bare, expose.
null-us, -a, -um, no, none; **nōn nullus,** some.
numer-us, -i, *m.* number, quantity.
numm-us, -i, *m.* coin.
nunti-us, -i, *m.* messenger, message.
nūt-us, -ūs, *m.* nod.

ob, *prep. c. acc.* on account of.
observo (1), *tr.* watch, obey.
obs-es, -idis, *c.* hostage.
ob-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *tr.* blockade.
obsidi-o, -ōnis, *f.* blockade.
obstru-o, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* block up.
obtestor (1), *tr.* pray to.
ob-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* hold.
occāsi-o, -ōnis, *f.* opportunity.
occās-us, -ūs, *m.* setting; **sōlis occāsus,** west.
occī-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* kill.
occulto (1), *tr.* hide.
occupo (1), *tr.* seize; **occupātus,** busied.
octāvus, -a, -um, eighth.
octingent-i, -ae, -a, eight hundred.
offici-um, -i, *n.* loyalty, duty, service.
omnīno, *adv.* altogether, in all, at all.
omn-is, -e, all, every.
onerāri-us, -a, -um, of burden; **onerāria nāvis,** transport.
on-us, -eris, *n.* load.
oper-a, -ae, *f.* exertion, services, action.
opīni-o, -ōnis, *f.* reputation, expectation.
oportet (2), *defective impers.* it is necessary; **oportet mē,** I must.
opportūn-us, -a, -um, convenient, advantageous.
op-primo, -pressi, -pressum (3), *tr.* crush, weigh down, surprise.
oppugnāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* attack.
oppugno (1), *tr.* attack.
optim-us, -a, -um, best.
op-us, -eris, *n.* work; **opus est,** there is need of (*c. abl.*), *or used personally with nom. as subject,* is necessary.
orb-is, -is, *m.* circle; *as a military term,* square.
ord-o, -inis, *m.* row, rank, century.

orior, ortus sum (4), *intr.* rise, arise; am begun, spring from.
ōs, ōris, *n.* face.
osten-do, -di, -tum (3), *tr.* show, point out.
ostento (1), *tr.* show, point to.

pal-ūs, -ūdis, *f.* marsh, swamp.
pār, *gen.* **paris,** equal.
parco, peperci, parsum (3), *intr. c. dat.* spare.
paren-s, -tis, *c.* parent.
paro (1), *tr.* get ready.
par-s, -tis, *f.* part, direction.
parvul-us, -a, -um, very small.
pass-us, -ūs, *m.* pace.
pat-er, -ris, *m.* father.
patior, passus sum (3), *tr.* suffer, permit.
pauc-i, -ae, -a, few.
paucit-ās, -ātis, *f.* scanty numbers.
paulātim, *adv.* little by little.
paulo, *adv.* a little, somewhat (*only used with comparatives or words implying comparison*).
paulum, *adv.* a little, somewhat.
pax, pācis, *f.* peace.
pec-us, -oris, *n.* cattle.
ped-es, -itis, *m.* foot-soldier.
pedest-er, -ris, -re, on land, on foot.
peditāt-us, -ūs, *m.* infantry.
pell-is, -is, *f.* skin.
per, *prep. c. acc.* through, over, owing to.
per-curro, -cucurri *or* **-curri, -cursum** (3), *tr. or intr.* run along.
per-cutio, -cussi, -cussum (3), *tr.* strike.
perendin-us, -a, -um, after to-morrow.
perequito (1), *intr.* drive about.
per-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* carry, deliver, report; endure.
per-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* finish.
perfug-a, -ae, *m.* deserter.
perīcul-um *or* **perīcl-um, -i,** *n.* danger.
per-lego, -lēgi, -lectum (3), *tr.* read through.
perman-eo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* remain.
per-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* entrust, allow.
per-moveo, -mōvi, -mōtum (2), *tr.* influence, alarm.
perpetu-us, -a, -um, continued; **in perpetuum,** for ever.
per-spicio, -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr.* see clearly.
persuā-deo, -si, -sum (2), *intr. c. dat.* persuade; convince of (*acc. of fact, dat. of person*).
perterreo (2), *tr.* frighten, demoralize.
per-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *intr.* extend, reach.
perturbāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* panic, alarm.
perturbo (1), *tr.* throw into confusion.
per-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* come, arrive.
pēs, pedis, *m.* foot; **pedem refero,** retire.
pet-o, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.* seek, make for, ask for; *intr.* ask.
pīl-um, -i, *n.* (*heavy*) javelin (*of the legionary*).
pīl-us, -i, *m.* century of the *triārii*.
pinn-a, -ae, *f.* pinnacle.
plān-us, -a, -um, level.
plebs, plēbis, *f.* populace.
plēn-us, -a, -um, full.
plēr-īque, -aeque, -aque, most.

plērumque, *adv.* generally.
plumb-um, -i, *n.* lead; **plumbum album,** tin.
plūs, plūris, *n. noun or adv. in sing., adj. in plur.,* more; *superl.* **plūrim-us, -a, -um,** most; *adv.* **plūrimum.**
polliceor (2), *tr. or intr.* promise.
pōno, posui, positum (3), *tr.* place, put, pitch; make to depend on.
popul-us, -i, *m.* people.
port-a, -ae, *f.* gate.
port-us, -ūs, *m.* harbour.
possum, potui, posse, *intr.* am able, can.
post, *adv. or prep. c. acc.* after.
posteā, *adv.* afterwards, after; **posteā quam,** *conj.* after, when.
poster-us, -a, -um, following, next.
postquam, *conj.* after, when.
postrēmo, *adv.* lastly.
postulo (1), *tr.* require, demand.
potest-ās, -ātis, *f.* power, authority, opportunity; **potestātem facio,** give leave.
prae-ceps, *gen.* **-cipitis,** steep, precipitous.
praecept-um, -i, *n.* order.
prae-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *intr. c. dat.* instruct.
praecipu-us, -a, -um, especial.
praeclū-do, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* block.
praec-o, -ōnis, *m.* crier.
praed-a, -ae, *f.* plunder.
praedico (1), *tr.* describe.
praedor (1), *intr.* pillage.
prae-fero, -tuli, -lātum, ferre, *tr.* prefer, place before.
prae-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* put in command.
praefī-go, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* plant in front.
prae-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send ahead.
praemi-um, -i, *n.* reward.
praeparo (1), *tr.* prepare beforehand.
praesen-s, *gen.* **-tis,** present.
praesen-tio, -si, -sum (4), *tr.* hear beforehand, get wind of.
praesidi-um, -i, *n.* guard.
praesto, *adv.* present; **praesto sum** (*c. dat.*), wait upon.
prae-sto, -stiti, -stitum (1), *intr. c. dat.* surpass; *tr.* exhibit, perform.
prae-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr. c. dat.* rule, am head of.
praeter, *prep. c. acc.* except.
praeust-us, -a, -um, burnt at the end.
premo, pressi, pressum (3), *tr.* press hard.
prīdiē, *adv.* on the day before.
prīm-us, -a, -um, first; *adv.* **prīmum,** first, **prīmo,** at first; **in prīmis,** especially.
princ-eps, -ipis, *m.* chieftain.
principāt-us, -ūs, *m.* supremacy.
pristin-us, -a, -um, previous, old.
prius, *adv.* before; **prius quam,** *conj.* before.
prīvātim, *adv.* as a private person.
prīvāt-us, -a, -um, private.
pro, *prep. c. abl.* for, instead of, considering.
probo (1), *tr.* prove, approve.
prō-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* advance.
procul, *adv.* at a distance.
prō-curro, -curri *or* **-cucurri, -cursum** (3), *intr.* charge.
prōd-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* come forth.
prō-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* hand down.

prōdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead out, parade.
proelior (1), *intr.* fight.
proeli-um, -i, *n.* battle.
pro-ficiscor, -fectus sum (3), *intr.* set out.
prō-fugio, -fūgi, — (3), *intr.* take to flight, escape.
prō-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* go forward, go.
prohibeo (2), *tr.* prevent, repel.
prō-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw.
proinde, *adv.* therefore.
prō-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* let grow long.
prope, *adv.* almost; *prep.* near; *compar.* **propius.**
prō-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* beat off.
propinqu-us, -i, *m.* relation.
prō-pōno, -posui, -positum (3), *tr.* offer, state.
propter, *prep. c. acc.* on account of.
prōpugno (1), *intr.* fight in front, skirmish.
prō-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* pursue.
prōte-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* cover, protect.
prōterreo (3), *tr.* drive away in panic.
prō-vehor, -vectus sum (3), *intr.* sail.
prō-video, -vīdi, -vīsum (2), *tr.* arrange for.
proxim-us, -a, -um, very near, nearest, next.
public-us, -a, -um, of the state.
pugn-a, -ae, *f.* battle, fighting.
pugno (1), *intr.* fight.
puto (1), *tr. or intr.* believe, think.

quā, *adv.* where.
quaest-or, -ōris, *m.* quaestor, paymaster.
quam, *adv.* how, than, as; *also used to strengthen superlatives.*
quant-us, -a, -um, how great, as (*after* **tantus**); *adv.* **quantum,** as much as, as.
quart-us, -a, -um, fourth.
quattuor, *indecl. adj.* four.
-que, *conj.* and.
qui, quae, quod, *relative pron.* who, which, that.
qui, quae, quod, *interrog. adj.* which? what?
quīcumque, quaecumque, quodcumque, whoever, whatever.
quīdam, quaedam, quoddam, a certain.
quidem, *adv.* indeed; **nē . . . quidem,** not . . . even, nor . . . either.
qui-ēs, -ētis, *f.* rest.
quiēt-us, -a, -um, peaceable.
quīnam, quaenam, quodnam, who? which? what?
quindecim, *indecl. adj.* fifteen.
quinque, *indecl. adj.* five.
quis, quid, *interrog. pron.* who? what? *adv.* **quid,** why?
quis, quid, *indefinite pron.* any one, anything.
quispiam, quaepiam, quidpiam, any one, anything; *m. and f. adj.* any.
quisquam, quicquam, any one, anything.
quisque, quaeque, quidque (*pron.*) *or* **quodque** (*adj.*) each one, each, every.
quo, *adv.* whither; *conj.* so that.
quod, *conj.* because, that.
quoniam, *conj.* since, because.
quotiens, *adv.* as often as.

rā-do, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* shave.
rār-us, -a, -um, at intervals, scattered.

rati-o, -ōnis, *f.* method, means.
recen-s, *gen.* **-tis,** fresh, late.
recept-us, -ūs, *m.* retreat.
re-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), *tr.* get back, receive; **mē recipio,** retreat, return, recover.
recito (1), *tr.* read aloud.
recūso (1), *tr.* object to, protest against.
red-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* go back, return.
red-igo, -ēgi, -actum (3), *tr.* reduce.
redū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead back.
re-fero, rettuli, relātum, referre, *tr.* bring back.
re-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3), *tr.* repair.
re-fugio, -fūgi, — (3), *intr.* flee back.
regi-o, -ōnis, *f.* district.
regno (1), *intr.* am king.
regn-um, -i, *n.* sovereignty.
re-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* go back.
re-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* throw back, cast out.
relēgo (1), *tr.* banish.
re-linquo, -līqui, -lictum (3), *tr.* leave.
reliqu-us, -a, -um, remaining, left, rest of; **reliqui,** the others.
rēmigo (1), *intr.* row.
re-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* relax; **remissior,** less severe.
re-moveo, -mōvi, -mōtum (2), *tr.* draw away, withdraw.
rēm-us, -i, *m.* oar.
repello, reppuli, repulsum (3), *tr.* drive back.
repentīn-us, -a, -um, sudden.
reperio, repperi, repertum (4), *tr.* find.
reporto (1), *tr.* carry back.
reposco, —, — (3), *tr.* demand back.
rēs, rei, *f.* thing, act, movement, circumstance; **rēs publica,** state affairs, state policy, state.
reservo (1), *tr.* keep, reserve.
re-sisto, -stiti, — (3), *intr.* hold out, oppose.
respon-deo, -di, -sum, *tr. or intr.* answer.
respons-um, -i, *n.* reply.
restit-uo, -ui, -ūtum (3), *tr.* restore.
re-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* keep, be true to.
re-vertor, -versus sum (3), *intr.* turn back, return.
rīp-a, -ae, *f.* bank.
rot-a, -ae, *f.* wheel.
rursus, *adv.* again.

sagitt-a, -ae, *f.* arrow.
sal-ūs, -ūtis, *f.* safety.
sap-io, -īvi, — (3), *intr.* understand.
satis, *adv.* enough; **satis facio,** make reparation.
scindo, scidi, scissum (3), *tr.* tear down.
scio (4), *tr.* know.
scrī-bo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* write.
scūt-um, -i, *n.* shield.
sē *or* **sēsē,** himself, herself, itself, themselves.
secund-us, -a, -um, favourable.
sed, *conj.* but.
sēmit-a, -ae, *f.* track.
semper, *adv.* always.
septem, *indecl. adj.* seven.
septim-us, -a, -um, seventh.
se-quor, -cūtus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* seek, follow.
serm-o, -ōnis, *m.* conversation, intercourse.

sero, sēvi, satum (3), *tr.* sow.
sēro, *adv.* too late.
servo (1), *tr.* watch.
sētius, *adv.* otherwise ; **nihilo sētius,** none the less.
seu *or* **sīve,** *conj.* or if; **seu . . . seu,** if . . . or, whether . . . or.
si, *conj.* if.
sīc, *adv.* so.
sīcut, *adv.* just as.
sign-um, -i, *n.* signal, standard.
silv-a, ae, *f.* wood, forest.
silvest-er, -ris, -re, wooded.
simul, *adv.* at the same time ; *conj.* **simul atque,** as soon as.
simult-ās, -ātis, *f.* rivalry, jealousy.
sīn, *conj.* but if.
sine, *prep. c. abl.* without.
singillātim, *adv.* individually.
singulār-is, -e, remarkable, valuable.
singul-i, -ae, -a, one each, single.
sinistr-a, -ae, *f.* left hand.
sīve, *see* **seu.**
sōl, sōlis, *m.* sun.
sōl-us, -a, -um, alone, only.
solvo, solvi, solūtum (3), *tr.* unfasten ; *sc.* **nāvem,** set sail.
spati-um, -i, *n.* distance, interval.
speci-ēs, -ēi, *f.* appearance, show.
specto (1), *tr.* look to, have regard for.
spēro (1), *tr. or intr.* hope for, hope.
spēs, spei, *f.* hope.
stabilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* steadiness.
sto, steti, statum (1), *intr.* stand.
strepit-us, -ūs, *m.* clatter, din.
studi-um, -i, *n.* energy, eagerness.
sub, *prep. c. acc.* under, just before ; *c. abl.* under.
subdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* haul up.
subito, *adv.* on a sudden.
subse-quor, -cūtus sum (3), *tr. or intr.* follow.
subsidi-um, -i, *n.* help.
sub-sum, -fui, -esse, *intr.* am near.
sub-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr. c. dat.* come to the aid of.
succī-do, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* cut down.
suc-curro, -curri, -cursum (3), *intr. c. dat.* run to the aid of.
sud-is, -is, *f.* stake.
sum, fui, esse, *intr.* am.
sum-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), send to help, send up.
sum-moveo, -mōvi, -mōtum (2), *tr.* drive off, drive away.
summ-us, -a, -um, highest, very great, greatest.
superi-or, -us, higher, farther, former ; **superior sum,** get the better.
suprā, *adv.* before.
suspect-us, -a, -um, suspected.
sus-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), *tr.* withstand, hold up.
su-us, -a, -um, his own, her own, &c.

tale-a, -ae, *f.* bar.
tam, *adv.* so.
tamen, *adv.* however, nevertheless.
tametsi, *conj.* although.
tango, tetigi, tactum (3), *tr.* touch, border on.
tant-us, -a, -um, so great ; *adv.* **tantum,** so much, only.
tardē, *adv.* slowly ; *compar.* **tardius.**

te-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* cover.
tēl-um, -i, *n.* missile.
temerit-ās, -ātis, *f.* rashness.
tēm-o, -ōnis, *m.* pole.
temperāt-us, -a, -um, mild.
tempest-ās, -ātis, *f.* storm, weather.
temp-us, -oris, *n.* time.
ten-eo, -ui, — (2), *tr.* hold, keep.
tenu-is, -e, weak.
terreo (2), *tr.* frighten.
territo (1), *tr.* terrify.
terr-or, -ōris, *m.* alarm, panic, terror.
terti-us, -a, -um, third.
testimōni-um, -i, *n.* evidence, report.
testūd-o, -inis, *f.* tortoise.
tim-eo, -ui, — (2), *tr. or intr.* fear.
tim-or, -ōris, *m.* fear.
tollo, sustuli, sublātum (3), *tr.* lift, pull up, take on board.
torment-um, -i, *n.* artillery.
tot, *indecl. adj.* so many.
tōt-us, -a, -um, whole.
trā-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* give up, hand over.
trādū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead across.
trāgul-a, -ae, *f.* javelin.
trā-icio, -iēci, -iectum (3), *tr.* pierce.
trans-eo, -īvi *or* **-ii, -itum, -īre,** *tr. or intr.* cross, cross over.
transfī-go, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* pierce through.
transporto (1), *tr.* carry over.
trecent-i, -ae, -a, three hundred.
trēs, tria, three.
tribūn-us, -i, *m.* tribune.
tū, tui, thou, you.
tueor (2), *tr.* defend.
tum, *adv.* at that time, then.
tumult-us, -ūs, *m.* outbreak.
turm-a, -ae, *f.* troop, squadron.
turr-is, -is, *f.* tower.
tūt-us, -a, -um, safe.

ubĭ, *adv. or conj.* when, where, where?
ulteri-or, -us, farther.
ultro, *adv.* unasked, actually.
unde, *adv.* whence, from which.
ūnivers-us, -a, -um, all together, one and all.
ūn-us, -a, -um, one, alone, the same.
usque, *adv.* even; **usque ad,** up to, until.
ūs-us, -ūs, *m.* use, practice, handling, advantage.
ut *or* **utī,** *adv. or conj.* as, so that.
ut-er, -ra, -rum, which of two.
uterque, utraque, utrumque, each of two, both.
ūtor, ūsus sum (3), *intr. c. abl.* use, employ, show, benefit by.
ux-or, -ōris, *f.* wife.

vad-um, -i, *n.* ford.
vāgīn-a, -ae, *f.* sheath.
vagor (1), *intr.* roam, spread over the country.
val-eo, -ui, — (2), *intr.* am strong, have weight.
valētūd-o, -inis, *f.* health.
vall-um, -i, *n.* rampart.
vasto (1), *tr.* lay waste.
vectōri-us, -a, -um, for transport.
vēlōcissimē, *superl. adv.* very swiftly.
venio, vēni, ventum (4), *intr.* come.
vent-us, -i, *m.* wind.
verb-um, -i, *n.* word.
vereor (2), *tr. or intr.* fear.
verso (1), *tr.* turn about.
verūt-um, -i, *n.* dart.

vesp-er, -eri, *or* **-eris,** *m.* evening.
vestio (4), *tr.* clothe.
vet-o, -ui, -itum (1), *tr.* forbid.
vet-us, *gen.* **-eris,** old, long-standing.
vi-a, -ae, *f.* road.
victōri-a, -ae, *f.* victory.
video, vīdi, vīsum (2), *tr.* see; *pass.* am seen, seem, seem good (*sometimes impers.*).
vigili-a, -ae, *f.* watch.
vīginti, *indecl. adj.* twenty.
vinco, vīci, victum (3), *tr. or intr.* conquer, have my way.
vir, viri, *m.* man.
virg-o, -inis, *f.* maiden.
virt-ūs, -ūtis, *f.* courage, energy, merit.
vīto (1), *tr.* avoid.
vitr-um, -i, *n.* woad.
vīvo, vixi, victum (3), *intr.* live.
volo, volui, velle, *tr. or intr.* wish for, wish, am willing.
voluntās, -ātis, *f.* will, goodwill.
volupt-ās, -ātis, *f.* amusement.
vox, vōcis, *f.* voice, word.
vulnero (1), *tr.* wound.
vuln-us, -eris, *n.* wound.

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